Massachusetts Episcopalians

1607 1957

DUDLEY TYNG

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MASSACHUSETTS EPISCOPALIANS

1607 - 1957

Dudley Tyng, B.D., Ph.D.

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I.

Foreword by the Rt. Rev. Norman B. Nash

Retired Bishop of Massachusetts

Coming to its hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary the old Diocese of Massachusetts is fortunate in its historians. Mr. Berry's admirable account of the nineteenth century episcopates of Bishops Eastburn and Paddock is now followed by Dr. Tyng's excellent account of the whole history of the Diocese, from its feeble revival of Episcopalianism during the quarter century following the Revolution to its strength today, when it ranks second or third in the various statistical criteria of size in the American Church.

The story so competently and lucidly told is one of steady growth which has preserved the Evangelical character of early days, developing into the Liberal Evangelicalism which begins with Phillips Brooks, and still prevails.

The Diocese has been blessed with three great episcopates, those of Griswold, Lawrence and Sherrill. The rest of us may perhaps be estimated as not incompetent, certainly all have been devoted. One may look forward to the next twenty-five years which complete our second century in a confident hope that the God of our fathers will lead our beloved Diocese to greater strength and wider vision under Bishops Stokes and Lawrence and their successors.

Norman B. Nash

— PREFACE —

My sincere gratitude goes to Bishop Nash for his careful scrutiny of the manuscript of this book and for his recommendation that it be published by the Diocese. This was made possible through a grant by the Diocesan Library Trustees from the Edmund F. Slafter Fund. Dr. Slafter was a long-time Registrar of the Diocese whose time, talents and money helped mightily in developing the Library. The Rev. John R. Dallinger, now Registrar for nearly thirty years, suggested the use of the accumulated interest of the Fund for the publication of this history.

I would like also to record my appreciation of their encouragement in this kind of historical writing by the present Bishop of Rhode Island, the Rt. Rev. John S. Higgins, and by the former Archdeacon of that Diocese, the Rev. Anthony R. Parshley.

Partly because of this, the manuscript of "Rhode Island Episcopalians 1635-1953" saw the light in that year. A manuscript on the church in Vermont awaits future financing. Other writing on New England Episcopal history is in progress.

Anyone interested in pursuing this subject further is recommended to read Calvin R. Bachelder's two volumes on the "Eastern Diocese," with its accounts of various parishes from colonial times on to the early 1860s. An excellent account, based largely on Bachelder's "The Planting of the Prayer Book in Massachusetts" by the Rev. Dr. T. J. Jesset, was written especially for the General Convention of 1952, which met in Boston, and was published at the expense of the two Massachusetts dioceses. A semi-centennial history of the Diocese of Western Massachusetts by the Rev. Donald N. Alexander, published in 1952, can be obtained from the diocesan headquarters at 37 Chestnut Street, Springfield.

Two accounts of Phillips Brooks by his own clergy are readily available. The first is the monumental biography of the great preacher and bishop by the late Professor A. V. G. Allen in two considerable volumes. A one-volume abbreviation of this by another hand also exists. The second account in a smallish volume, is by Brooks' successor, Bishop William Lawrence, highly competent and interesting. A study of Phillips Brooks by Professor Albright of the Cambridge Seminary is coming out this year. A work by Bishop Sherrill on "The Later Years of William Lawrence" is highly worth reading.

A most valuable study of the Diocese from 1810 to 1872 is a Harvard Ph.D thesis by the late Joseph B. Berry, beautifully brought out as a memorial by his mother and widow. This Ph.D

essay is an example of a score or more like doctoral theses, or more popular accounts, which could be written on various periods or phases of New England Episcopal history. I would suggest just one such title: "The Episcopal Parishes of Lowell and Lawrence, Massachusetts," with their background in the history of these manufacturing cities and their neighboring communities. Parochial histories of consequence exist for Christ Church, Cambridge and for the parishes of the Advent and of Trinity, Boston.

Long, definitive histories of the New England dioceses, such as the history of the Church in New Jersey by Dr. Nelson B. Burr of the Library of Congress, and a like history which he is planning for Connecticut, are certainly desiderata. So, "Coats off, Christian Brothers!"

Dudley Tyng

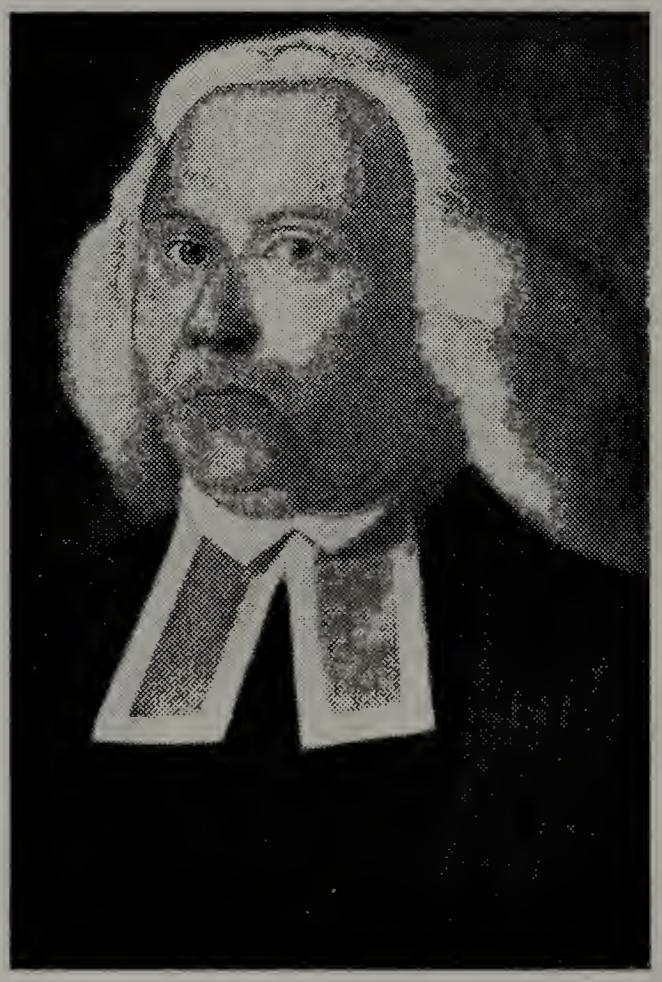
Greenville, Rhode Island
September, 1960

BISHOP BASS
First Bishop of Diocese

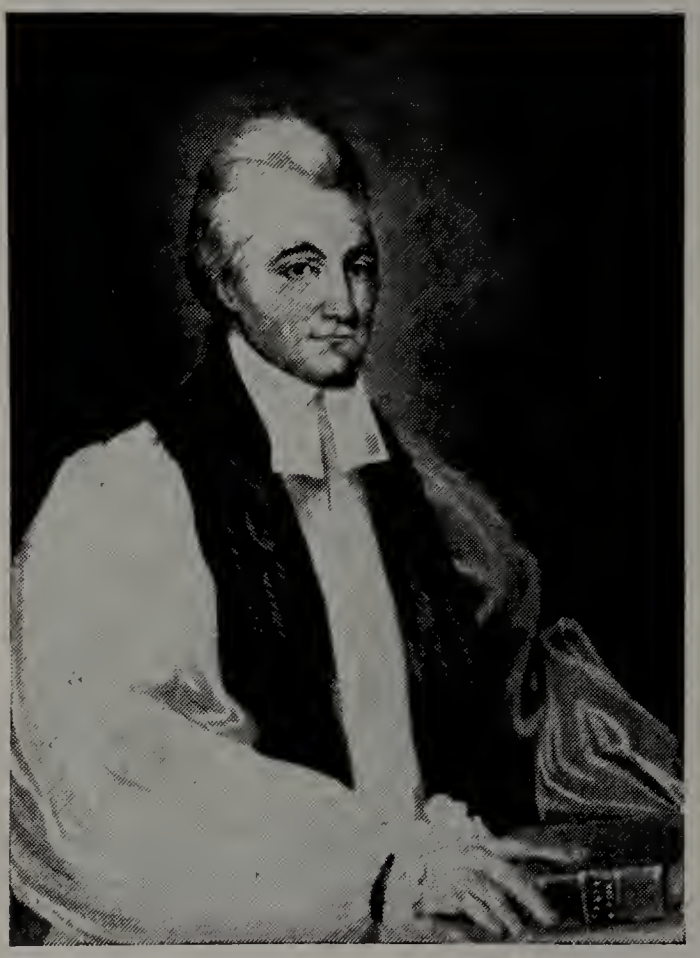
FRONTISPIECE

This symbolizes the growth of our Diocese. The silhouette is, of course, the figure of the first Bishop, Edward Bass. Behind him is a "tapestry" of the seven oldest parishes, arranged by date of organization: Quincy, Newburyport, Marblehead, Boston, Hanover, Taunton, and Dedham. In each case except one, the drawing represents the original church . . . research failed to disclose any illustration of the original Taunton church building. In the foreground is Bishop Stokes, pointing to the most recent development, the Mobile Mission Church.

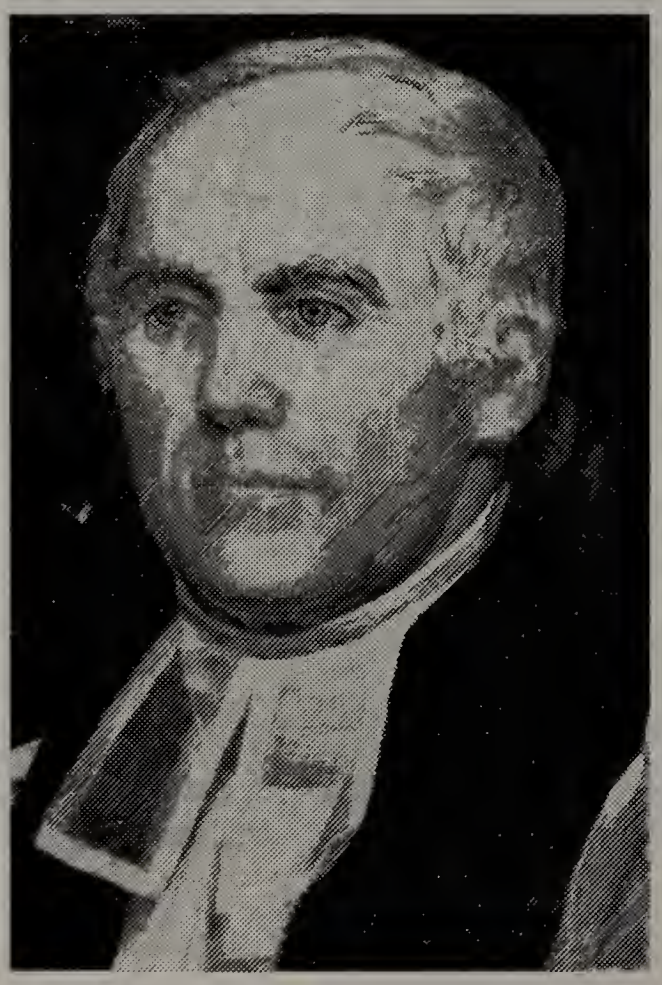
Bishops of the Two Dioceses



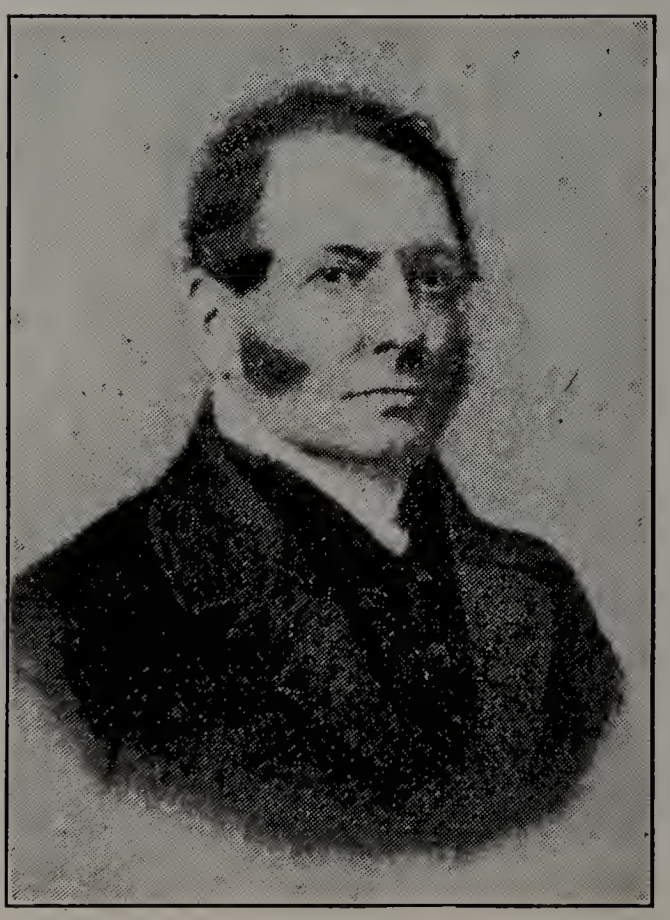
EDWARD BASS
1797 - 1803



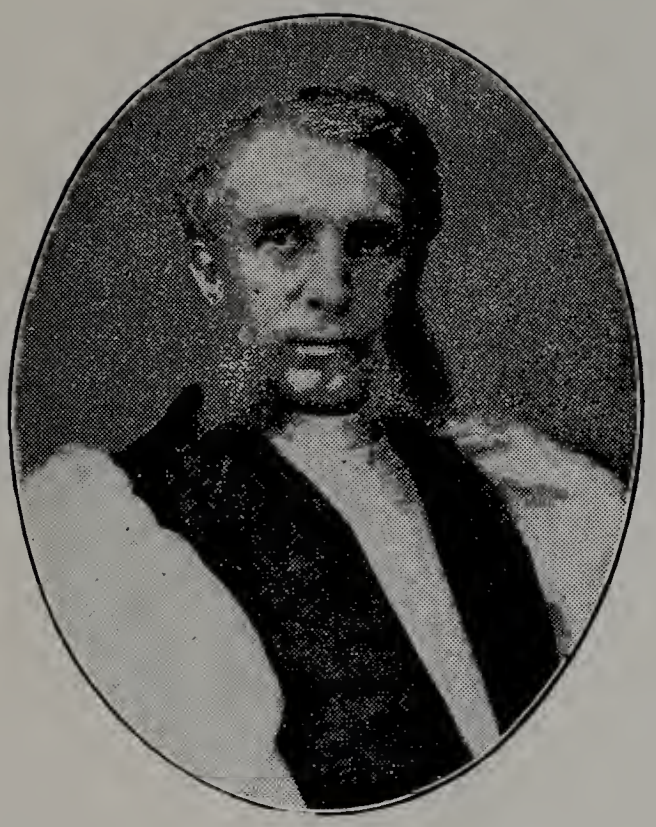
SAMUEL PARKER
1804



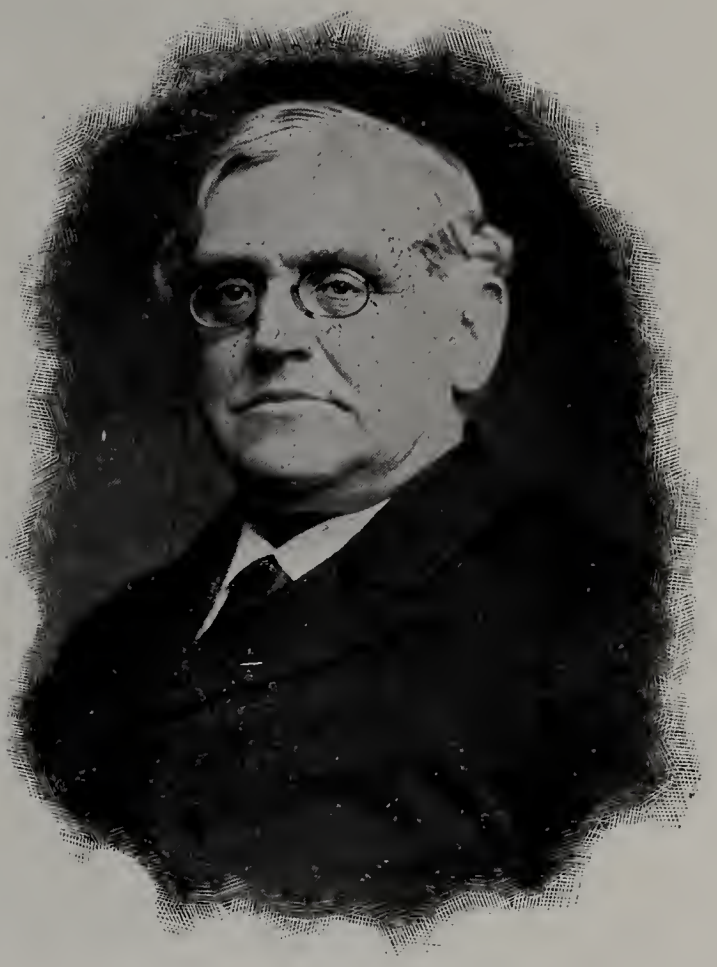
ALEXANDER V. GRISWOLD
1811 - 1843



MANTON EASTBURN
1843 - 1872



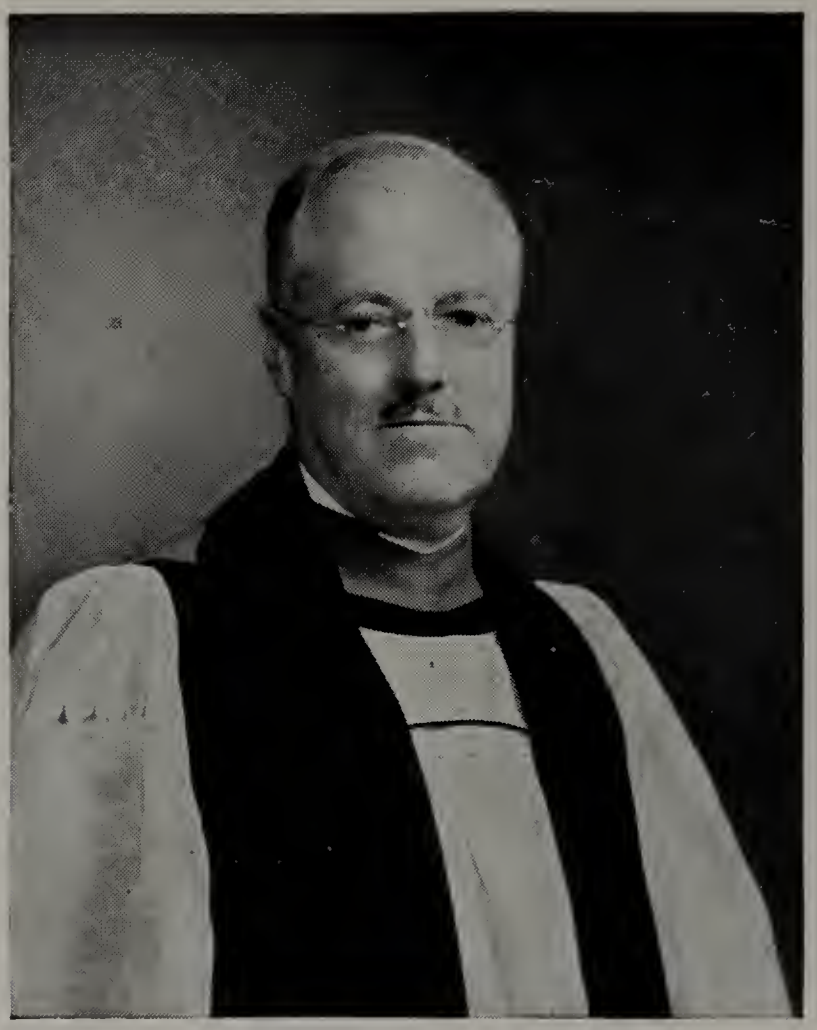
BENJAMIN H. PADDOCK
1873 - 1891



PHILLIPS BROOKS
1891 - 1893

WILLIAM LAWRENCE
1893 - 1927

CHARLES L. SLATTERY
1927 - 1930

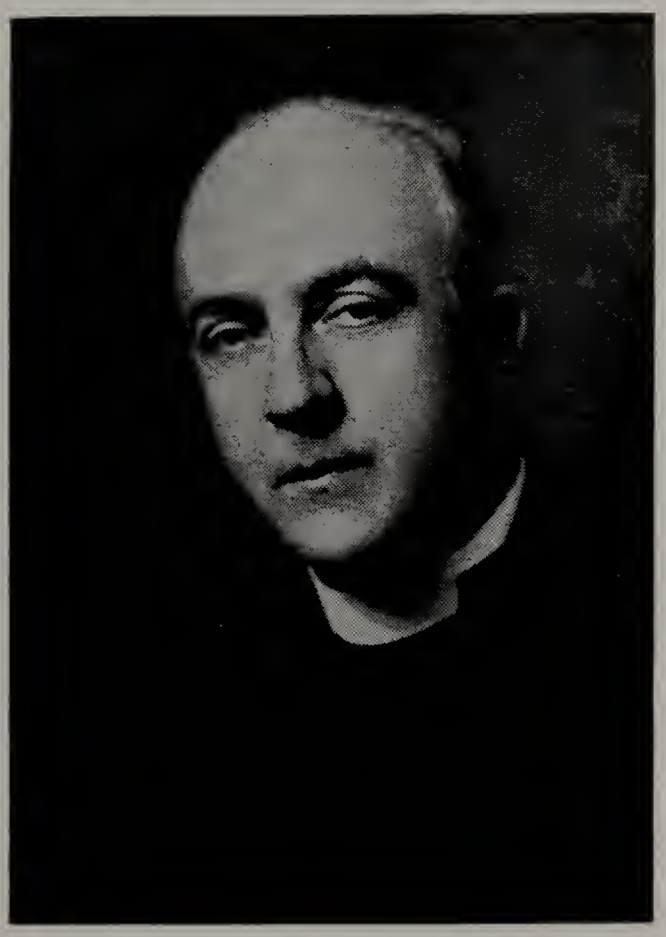


NORMAN B. NASH
1947 - 1956

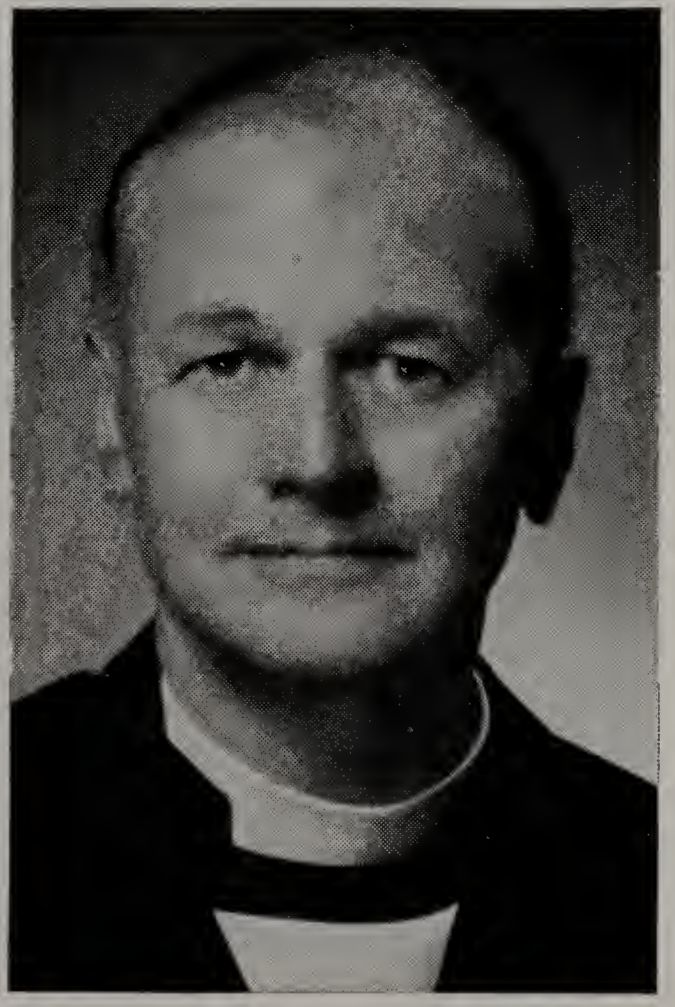
ANSON P. STOKES, JR.
1956 - Coadjutor 1955

HENRY K. SHERRILL
1930 - 1947

SAMUEL G. BABCOCK
Suffragan 1913 - 1937



RAYMOND A. HERON
Suffragan 1938 - 1947



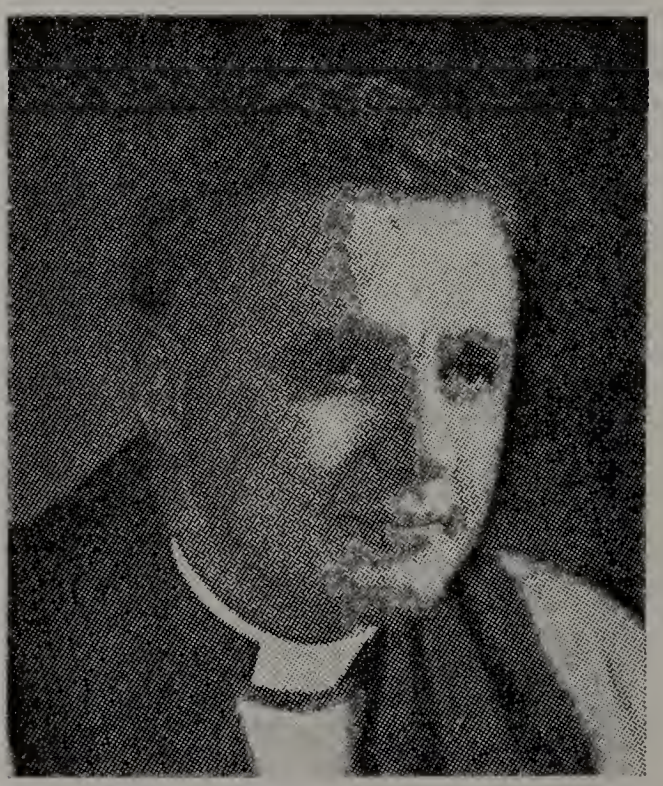
FREDERIC C. LAWRENCE
Suffragan 1956-

Bishops of Western Massachusetts

ALEXANDER H. VINTON
1902 - 1911

THOMAS F. DAVIES
1911 - 1936

W. APPLETON LAWRENCE
1937 - 1957



ROBERT M. HATCH
1957-

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Chapter	III	The Period of Increase	1726-1776
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Chapter	V	The Days of Bishop Griswold	1811-1843
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CHAPTER I.

The Beginnings

I.

Unsuccessful Beginnings 1607 - 1685

Contemporaneous with the successful establishment of the Church of England at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, was an unsuccessful attempt to plant a Church settlement on the coasts of Maine. There settlers of the Plymouth Company, headed by Raleigh Gilbert and George Popham, with the Reverend Richard Seymour as their priest, made a temporary stay near Atkins Bay. A decade later, Sir Fernando Gorges managed to plant a permanent colony near Saco. As the little settlements in this area grew in number and size, two Church of England clergymen were sent out to minister to them, Richard Gibson in 1636 and Robert Jordan in 1640.

By this time, the now strong Colony of Massachusetts was enforcing its territorial claims to Maine and coastal New Hampshire. As a result, Gibson and Jordan, who naturally sided with their own people in resisting the political and religious domination of the Puritans, found themselves in difficulties. Propaganda against Massachusetts and propagation of the Church of England became their crime.

In 1642, after six years of labor in Maine and in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Gibson was banished. Jordan, however, was allowed to remain, for he had become a substantial citizen by marriage and good management. That he did not entirely refrain from religious activities seems quite clear. Eighteen years after Gibson's banishment, when the restoration of Charles II was casting a shadow over the Puritan Commonwealth and repressive measures seemed urgent, Jordan likewise fell into the hands of the law. "They did imprisson and barbariously use Mr. Jordan for baptizing infants."* In the eyes of most Calvinistic Congregationalists, who believed that salvation came only by conscious conversion, followed then by adult baptism, infant baptism was merely superstition and "papistical" practice. Again, after another eleven years, in 1671, Jordan was prosecuted for using the Prayer Book at marriages. No dire results, however, are reported. In 1675, the outbreak of King Philip's War drove him to take refuge in Portsmouth, where he died four years later. For nearly half a century thereafter, Maine and New Hampshire were to be free from the menace of Prayer Book and prelacy.

Although Massachusetts had no Church of England parish until 1686 (two years before the original King's Chapel was built) loyal Churchmen were not a few. Even before 1625, three notable Church of England parsons, among others who never forgot their old allegiance, were present in the Colony. These were William Blackstone, William Morrell, and John Lyford.

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*This and other quotations in this chapter are re-quoted from C. R. Batchelder, **History of the Eastern Diocese**, Vol. I, pp. 7-15.

William Blackstone (or Blaxton) who evidently enjoyed the hermit life and did not marry until quite old, was one of the earliest settlers in Boston. When the Puritans crowded in on him and made the price of franchise membership in the tax-supported Congregational Church, Blackstone rebelled and sought solitude and freedom in the wilds of Rehoboth, or what is now Cumberland, Rhode Island. He had left England to avoid the Lord Bishops, and now left behind the "'Lord Brethren" also. Selling his holdings in Boston, Blackstone transported his possessions on the backs of oxen forty miles through the wilderness near to what are now the villages of Lonsdale and Ashton. These goods included a library of 200 books, a large one for those days. There in Cumberland, on what he called "Study Hill," a height overlooking the river which now bears his name, Blackstone built himself a house, and introduced apple growing, cattle raising and the Prayer Book to Rhode Island. If he was also a fisherman, he doubtless enjoyed casting for salmon in the once silvery waters of the cascade-studded Blackstone. He arrived in 1635, a year before Roger Williams grounded his canoe on the east bank of the Mosshassuck River, opposite the present Cathedral of St. John on North Main Street, Providence.

Blackstone lived at Study Hill for nearly forty years. Soon after his death, King Philip's War broke out. Blackstone's house went up in flames, and, doubtless with it, papers of great historical value.

As a consequence, perhaps, we know little of Blackstone's life, and still less of his labors in religion. Tradition has him preaching frequently at the "Catholic Oak," near his home, a tree which lasted well into the twentieth century. He probably officiated from time to time in the village of Providence, eight miles away. There he is said to have drawn children to his services by rewarding them with sweet apples from his farm. Most certain of all, are his visits to a Church family, the Richard Smiths, planters in the Narragansett country. He rode there through meadow and forest on the back of a trained bull. Blackstone was the first Anglican parson in Rhode Island. It was nearly a quarter of a century later before a second one came—this time to Trinity Church in Newport, founded in 1698.

William Morrell arrived in Weymouth in 1623. He prudently refrained from exercising his clerical office, at least publicly, and spent a year in the settlement studying the ways and customs of both the white men and the Indians. Returning to England, he wrote up his observations in an excellent Latin poem, which he later translated into English verse.

The third clergyman, John Lyford, who stayed in the Colonies from 1624 until his death in 1641, was much bolder. He was well received at first in Pilgrim Plymouth and officiated often in the local church. However, his theological views and his letters to England about waste and mismanagement in the Colony, letters which Governor Bradford intercepted, led to his banishment. As did

Roger Conant and John Oldham, he betook himself to Nantasket, then to Cape Ann and, finally, to Naumkeag, now called Salem. There he officiated for several years till the big Puritan migrations of 1628 and 1630. The liking which these newcomers soon manifested for Congregationalism, with the severing of their old Church ties, ran very much against Lyford's grain. An aggravating case, in his mind, was the proceeding in which Samuel Skelton and Francis Higginson, already presbyters of the Church of England, undertook to ordain each other as minister and teacher, respectively, of the Salem Church. Lyford eventually left for the South.

His views were shared by two laymen, John and Samuel Brown, who started worship in a private house according to the offices of the Prayer Book. The Browns were sent back to England. In memory of these doughty Churchmen, a marble tablet was erected, two centuries later, in St. Peter's, Salem. It reads: "In memory of John and Samuel Brown, members of the Massachusetts Company, A. D. 1628; the former of the first Court of Assistants, and both members of the first Council; to whose intrepidity in the cause of religious freedom this, the first Episcopal Society gathered in New England, under God, owed its establishment in the year of our Lord 1629; and in memory of Philip English, who in the year 1733, presented the land on which this edifice is erected; this tablet is inscribed in the year 1833, as a grateful memorial of their devotion to the cause of Christianity, and to the ritual of the Protestant Episcopal Church." With the banishment of the Browns, the Episcopal Church disappeared from Salem for a century. Those of the "old planters" who might have preferred the services of the Prayer Book either joined the new Church, or remained outside of it, politically without a vote and, religiously, relegated to the ranks of those whom God had not chosen.

In Boston, where the politically and religiously disfranchised were quite numerous, a "Remonstrance and Humble Petition," signed by several prominent citizens, was presented to the Town Council praying for relief. A careful reply to the petition was drawn up by the General Court itself, and the signers were heavily fined. To ready the Congregational Churches against the coming danger and to unite them more closely, the so-called "Cambridge Synod" was convened, and Edward Winslow was sent to England to be agent for the Puritan cause. His efforts there were soon rendered unnecessary, for, by 1649, Charles I was in prison and Oliver Cromwell was on his way to be Lord Protector of the realm.

With the return of Charles II in 1660, the Quakers and Episcopalians, the principal dissidents in Massachusetts, began "making known their grievances," and petitioning for a Royal Governor, who would enforce the toleration clauses of the old Colonial Charter. The Puritans, naturally, became alarmed. As one of them later put it, "Episcopacy, common prayer, bowing at the name of Jesus, the sign of the cross in baptism, the altar and organs are in use and like to be more and more. The Lord keep and preserve his churches, that

they may not be fainting in the day of trial." In 1660, of course, this was anticipation rather than actuality.

In 1662, actuality loomed closer. The General Court received an alarming command from the King, which stressed two points. The first was that there was to be no political discrimination because of religion, that "all freeholders of competent estate, not vicious in conversations, orthodox in religion, though of different persuasions concerning church government, might have their vote in the election of all officers, civil and military." All honest and godly gentlemen were allowed to vote, though not, of course, the common folk.

The second point of the royal letter, a more specifically religious one, was, however, evaded. This provided that "all persons of good and honest lives and conversations be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the said Booke of Common Prayer, and their children to Baptism." That is, three great aversions of many Puritans, open Communion, infant baptism and use of the Prayer Book were enjoined. It is not surprising that passive resistance to the royal command carried the day. It is an interesting sidelight on the situation, both in England and Massachusetts, that the King saw fit to order the Puritan ministers to celebrate the Lord's Supper according to the Prayer Book usage, when not a few of them at that time lacked Episcopal orders. Charles II was, of course, no theologian, and being a Roman at heart and a rake openly, he doubtless would have cared but little had he known what he was proposing. It was not until the conversion of Massachusetts into a royal colony, and the coming of the Rev. Robert Ratcliffe to Boston in 1686, that a way of relief for Massachusetts Churchmen became open.

II.

Relaying the Foundations

1686 to 1736

Up to 1685, the various attempts to establish Anglicanism in New England came to naught. The arrival of the Reverend Robert Ratcliffe in 1686, with the subsequent organization of King's Chapel in Boston, marked the turning of the tide. Fifty years later, St. John's, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was solidly established. In the intervening half-century, the four Colonial parishes in Rhode Island were prosperously launched, while sixty other churches, large and little, came to fruition in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Although the Charters issued by Charles II and James II did not free Church of England folk from long annoyance at the hands of hostile local authorities, banishment of individuals and closing of churches came to an end.

Soon after Ratcliffe's arrival, two prominent Boston Churchmen, Mason and Randolph, the latter the Collector of the King's Customs, petitioned the Boston Town Council to allow the new parson to hold services in one of the three churches of the town. In the words of Judge Sewall's diary, this was "denyed; and he is granted the east end of the Town-house, where ye Deputies used to meet, untill those who desire his ministry shall provide a fitter place.*

This place, wrote Randolph to the Archbishop of Canterbury, was "found so strait that we are forced to make use of the exchange for that purpose, where to humour the people, our minister preaches twice a day and baptizes all that come to him, some infants, some adult persons. We are now come to have prayers every Wednesday and Friday mornings on their exchange, and resolve not to be baffled by their great affronts; some calling our minister Baal's priest, and some of their ministers, from the pulpit, calling our prayers leeks, garlick and trash."

On June 15, 1686, King's Chapel parish was organized, wardens and vestry duly elected, and contracts made for benches, pulpit, and a Lord's Table. It was also noted that every Sunday "a publique collection should be taken and continued untill some publique and settled provision be made for the minister." Shortly thereafter, it was agreed that Ratcliffe's salary should be fifty pounds a year, plus anything that the Town Council might appropriate for it. The Rev. Joseph Clarke was also hired to be Ratcliffe's assistant. That an assistant was needed was evident from a letter written by Randolph to the Archbishop, dated October 27, 1686, on the matter of building a church in Boston. "Wee have at present 400 persons who are daily frequenters of our church, and as many more would come to us, but some being tradesmen, others of mechanick professions, are threatened by the Congregational men to be arrested by their creditors, or to be turned out of their work; if they offer to come to our church; under such discouragements wee lye at present, and are forced to address your grace for reliefe."

Relief came rather speedily. For within two months, on December 20, 1686, Sir Edmond Andros arrived to succeed Joseph Dudley as governor. He immediately demanded the use of one of the three meeting houses for Anglican services. The ministers consulted and politely refused. The Governor waited a while, and then demanded the key of the South Meeting House "that they might have prayers there." A committee of the ministers came to explain that the edifice was private property, built by private subscription, and that his demand was, therefore, illegal. Incensed, Andros seized the building for Good Friday and Easter services on March 24 and 26, 1687. Sewall remarks, in his diary, of the Easter service that "they met at 11, and broke off past two, because of ye sacrament and Mr. Clarke's long sermon, though we were appointed to come at half

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*Requotations from Batchelder Eastern Diocese I p. 361-385.

past one; so t'was a sad sight to see how full ye street was with people gazing and moving to and fro, because they had no entrance."

A year later, Andros gave Captains Anthony Howard and William White, together with Mr. Thaddeus Mackerty, a commission "pursuant to a resolve in Council," to raise funds for a church building. They were successful, and for 284 pounds, a little wooden church was erected on the site of the present King's Chapel. The first service was on June 30, 1689, two years after the one held in the South Meeting House.

Early the next year, Andros, Dudley and certain other gentlemen, who had been arrested by the Puritans after the Revolution of 1688, were sent to England by the order of the new sovereigns, William and Mary. They were, however, soon released. Andros went as Royal Governor to Virginia, and Dudley later attained the same dignity in his native Massachusetts.

In the midst of these political changes, Ratcliffe returned to England, and Samuel Myles began a long ministry at King's Chapel. One of his various assistants was Christopher Bridge, who was eventually transferred to Rhode Island, where he was instrumental in founding, in 1706, the old Narrangansett Church, now St. Paul's, Wickford.

Myles managed to procure much church furniture from England for the Chapel, as well as substantial financial aid. In 1694 the parish acquired a set of pews, fifty-six of the eighty-four needed being subscribed for by the officers of his Majesty's fleet anchored in Boston. Still later, the Chapel was doubled in size. Many new immigrants, as well as older settlers, found in it their spiritual home. The usual Sunday congregation, we are told, numbered 800 — probably a considerable over-estimate, considering the size of the building.

King's Chapel continued to flourish till, finally, a new church in the growing North End became a necessity. Accordingly Christ Church, the "Old North Church" of Revolutionary fame, was built in 1723, Myles laying the cornerstone on April 15. Thus, thirty-four years after the erection of King's Chapel, a second parish came into being. Its first minister was a native of Boston, Timothy Cutler, ex-Congregationalist and ex-rector of Yale College, whose dramatic conversion to Episcopacy the year before, had precipitated the historic "Dark Day at Yale."

CHAPTER II.

The Period of Increase

1736 - 1776

The two parishes in Boston continued to grow until shortly before the Revolution, adding a third parish, Trinity, while smaller parishes arose to the south and along the North Shore.

Ratcliffe's successor at King's Chapel, Boston, was, as we have seen, the Rev. Samuel Myles, who had procured from England much equipment for the building to accommodate the growing congregations. At the same time, Mr. Thomas Brattle gave the chapel an organ, the first in Boston. Some one else supplied a chapel clock. In Myles' day, the congregation grew not only in numbers but in increasing amity with surrounding Congregationalism. Thus Dr. Colman, pastor of the Brattle Street church, wrote in 1716: "We have but a single Congregation among us of the worship of the Church of England, who are treated by us with all Christian respect and brotherhood."* In 1722, it was necessary, as we have seen, to build the Old North Church in Boston to accommodate the overflow in King's Chapel. In March 1728, Samuel Myles passed to his rest, as did also, a year and a half later, Henry Harris, who had been for twenty years assistant minister at the chapel. Since King's Chapel was a self-supporting parish, much information as to its condition, which might otherwise have been gathered from the reports the S. P. G. required of its missionaries, is missing. All we know is that the congregation was large, growing, and respected.

We likewise know little of the life of Samuel Myles. According to various contemporaries he was "a very worthy pastor," a "worthy and pious man and an acceptable preacher, prudent and energetic." Myles was the son of a Baptist minister who had come to New England from Wales about 1662. He graduated from Harvard in 1684, and received an M.A. from Oxford. The Bishop of London ordained him and licensed him to become minister of King's Chapel. His rectorship lasted from June 29, 1689, to March 4, 1728.

The next rector was Roger Price, a veritable pluralist in ecclesiastical benefices. He had already been presented to the rectory of Leigh in Essex, a cure he held for many years without performing any particular duties and which he doubtless sublet to some "Vicar." In addition, he possessed the rectorship of Durrington, another at Wiltshire, as well as an entailed estate at Beckley. All this, beside the rectorship for seventeen years of King's Chapel. No wonder that Price, after 1744, was able to purchase extensive lands in the town of Hopkinton, where he built a church for a few faithful people, endowing the little parish with a glebe of 180 acres. When he returned to England after 1753, he became the active incumbent of the parish in Leigh and the archdeacon of St. Alban's.

Roger Price had been formally inducted into the rectorship of King's Chapel on June 25, 1729, and in 1730 was appointed by the Bishop of London, whose jurisdiction extended to all the Colonies, as his Commissary for New England. Price's seventeen-year rector-

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*Batchelder, I, p. 388.

ship was not unmarked by troubles. Thus, for instance, in 1734, he actually sailed in disgust for England, but the ship became becalmed when just out of the harbor. Returning to Boston, Price made a settlement with his critics by agreeing to relinquish any pretensions to the right of choosing a church warden, as well as for any monies paid for burials under the Church. Other agreements were to abandon any claims to ownership of the church library or church "stock," to preach on Sunday afternoons, and to make due entries, in the book provided, of Church marriages, christenings and burials. Evidently, Price was so used to the idea of absentee rectorship that he was failing in some of the regular obligations due to the parish of his residence.

It was in the same year of 1734 that Trinity parish was split off from King's Chapel. Its first rector, from 1740, was Addington Davenport, for several years Price's assistant. How far the troubles which started Price on a journey to England were responsible for this step, is now uncertain. Suffice it to say, Boston soon found room for a third Anglican parish. A fourth was not added till long after the Revolution.

In 1746, Roger Price relinquished his rectorship of King's Chapel and went to live at Hopkinton, where he acted as pastor to the little congregation and as Commissary to New England, until his return to England in 1753.

As their next rector the parish of King's Chapel chose Henry Caner of Fairfield, Connecticut, who had labored there for twenty years, adding Stamford and Norwalk to the chain of coastal parishes which were constantly sending their sons and daughters north. Caner was born in England, but was educated at Yale, and studied theology under Samuel Johnson, rector at Startford.

Before coming to Massachusetts, Caner had written to the S. P. G. asking the Society to dispense him from his post in Fairfield. Constant travel under the hard conditions of the day was impairing his health. For he ministered not only at Fairfield, Norwalk and Stamford, but tried to serve his parishioners as they migrated north. The Society consented and Caner, for thirty years, carried on an effective ministry in the town of Boston. Such missionary openings as came along were taken care of by others, including several able assistants.

One of the immediate pressing needs of the parish was a new church building. One of stone was begun on the same site in 1739, although the edifice was not completed and paid for until some years later. Shurtliff's History of Boston (pp. 249-250) adds this little touch of information: "Some more of the burying ground was taken by consent of the town, the bodies buried therein being removed to other parts of the ground. The east part of the present Chapel stands on ground first occupied by the schoolhouse of Master Philemon Pormorst, the first master of a free school in Boston, in 1635. There were twenty tombs built under this church. Governor Shirley

and his wife, Mr. William Bollan, Mr. Samuel Vassall, Mr. William Price, and others of note in their day were buried in these vaults." William Price, here mentioned, was the founder of the endowed "Price Lectures," a series still maintained, and now under the aegis of Trinity Church.

Peace and prosperity were the lot of King's Chapel until the shadows of the Revolution lengthened. Governors and royal officers frequented the house of worship, drawing others in their train. In 1776, however, the scene suddenly changed. Caner, at short notice, withdrew with the royal forces to Halifax, losing all his property. The S. P. G. took him on as a missionary and even appointed him to the vacancy in Bristol, Rhode Island, where John Usher, a graduate of Harvard, had passed away after an illustrious ministry of fifty years. Conditions, however, prevented Caner from occupying this or any other post in the Colonies.

During the Revolution, King's Chapel remained largely unused. Some years later, James Freeman was chosen as lay reader and still later as pastor of the church. The flight of many of the pew-holders from Boston enabled those who had stayed behind to declare the pews of the absentees forfeited. These were sold to non-churchmen, many of them under the rising Unitarian influence. James Freeman became an early leader of the movement, then relatively conservative. He approached both Bishop Seabury of Connecticut and Provoost of New York with reference to Episcopal ordination, but was rejected, conditions which he imposed being totally unacceptable. However, he was duly "ordained" on Sunday, November 18, 1787, by vote of the congregation and by the on-laid hands of the warden, Thomas Bullfinch, M.D. The ordination was publicly rejected by the rector of Trinity Church, Samuel Parker; of Christ Church, William Montague; of St. Paul's, Newburyport, Edward Bass; and of St. John's, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, John C. Ogden. The rift was complete. When, a year later, Bishop Seabury had an ordination in Boston, many of the Chapel folk attended. Wrote Freeman: "They were shocked with the services—particularly that part where the Bishop pretended to communicate the Holy Ghost and the power of forgiving sins. I shudder when I reflect to what moral danger I exposed myself in soliciting ordination of the American bishops; for I certainly never believed that they had the power of conveying the Holy Spirit."

Thus King's Chapel has become a Unitarian shrine. It might also be called a shrine of memory for Massachusetts Churchmen, for here was their first parish, and here some few of the early traditions are preserved, including liturgical usages. One, at least, of its ministers has even worn a clerical collar.

We may now turn to the varied fortunes of Christ Church at the North End, the church where the lantern was hung out for Paul Revere. The building erected was a "handsome Brick Church, 70 feet long, and 50 wide, 35 high, the walls 2 feet and a half thick, and

the steeple's area is 24 feet square. As soon as it was fitted to have Divine Service performed in it, a numerous Congregation of People, both from Boston, and neighboring towns, attended the Public Worship there, particularly from Charlestown which is separated from Boston by a considerable River. At the opening of this Church, the usual audience was about 400 persons, but they increased continually." At this time Boston supposedly had about 20,000 people. Cutler thought that a sixth or seventh of these, some 3,000 people, could be reckoned as Churchmen.

This "handsome Brick Church" is much the same outwardly as it was in 1723. The changes have been in the interior and in the surrounding neighborhood. Only recently, the steeple blown down by the hurricane of 1954, was restored by an international subscription. The neighborhood for many years has been that of the poor. The Old North Church still maintains regular services, its small constituency swelled by many visitors.

Timothy Cutler, convert from Congregationalism and ex-rector of Yale College, was the first pastor. His reports to the S. P. G. indicate full congregations and numerous accessions by baptism and admittance to Holy Communion, Confirmation then being possible only by a visit to England. The prosperity of the parish, however, was matched by the poverty of its rector, who had great difficulty, with seven children, in keeping his head above water.

In his 1734 report, Cutler speaks of having preached at Dedham, where he baptized "5 children of a man and wife, sober persons." Twice also he had been invited to preach at Mendon (later to be a coach stop on the way to New York), a town "38 miles more inland than any in New England where the Service of the Church of England had been performed." In Mendon he baptized one child and had "an Audience of about 100 grown Persons; among whom were several of distinction, and Quakers as well as others, who gave them the liberty of assembling for worship in their House, and treated them (himself in particular) with remarkable civility and Respect afterwards." In the intervening 225 years no Episcopal congregation has arisen in fair Mendon, Unitarians, Baptists and Roman Catholics dividing the field. However, strong Episcopal parishes or missions exist in the neighboring towns of Milford, Whitinsville and Millville in Massachusetts, and in Woonsocket, Rhode Island.

Cutler's subsequent reports to the S. P. G. abound in references to numerous baptisms, including not a few slave Negroes and an Indian or two, and also to other visits to places as far as 25 miles from Boston. Among them were Sudbury, Gloucester, Dedham, Woburn, and a "place called 'Billericay'" (Billerica). There he preached to 200 adults "who attended with great Decency, and treated Dr. Cutler with great Civility, and conferred with him on religious subjects, which gave him an opportunity of introducing the Church of England more to their knowledge and esteem."

The Church in Massachusetts survived the assaults which Whitefield and his followers made against it and gained the respect of many Dissenters who were appalled by the results of the prevailing "Enthusiasm." In 1742, Cutler wrote to the home Society that "many illiterate Tradesmen, pretending to a Call to the publick exercise of their Gifts of Praying and Preaching, were helping forward the strange Work begun . . . . . Our Churches, though not free from trouble, are comparatively in a good degree of Quiet, insomuch that many of the Dissenters have observed our Happiness in it." In 1742, Cutler received nineteen new communicants, many of them from the Dissenters. In 1744, he reported with reference to the Christmas service, that he had a crowded congregation, "the Dissenters attending in great numbers, who generally think the better of our Church under Mr. Whitefield's Invectives against it, and many of them take it as a Refuge from those corrupt principles and those disorders which he has spread among them" (a one-sided view of Whitefield).

An evil of which Cutler several times complained was the flood of "bad books," chiefly of an infidel character, which came in from Europe, one consignment paying as much as forty-five pounds in customs duties. These dissertations were much more heavily imported than their refutations by Divines of the Church. Among these "infidel" publications were some of a "Socinian" nature. Boston was being intellectually prepared to be the future capital of American Unitarianism.

The spiritual prosperity of Christ Church was matched by material acquisitions of various sorts. Royal gifts of Communion plate and silver flagons alternated with the gift of an organ in 1736 procured from Newport, Rhode Island, and another built in 1759 and rebuilt some seventy years later.

In January, 1756, Cutler, in his last letter to the Society, reported that since July he had baptized 38 infants and "one Negro Slave of exceeding good character." There were "three large Episcopal Congregations in Boston, ten independent ones (Congregational), one small congregation of Methodists, two small Anabaptist ones, which sensibly diminish; the Papists keep much out of Sight, nor do they increase; and the Church hath Accessions from Dissenters of all Denominations."

Soon after this was written, Cutler was smitten by a paralytic stroke, and was crippled for the remaining nine years of his life. For three years the parish services were maintained by the help of neighboring clergy. Then, in 1760, James Greaton went over to England to be ordained as curate for Christ Church, with the expectation of succeeding Cutler as rector. Cutler managed to live for another five years, his counsel in parish matters being invaluable. However, there were objections to Greaton acceding to the rectorship. So, after two years of locum tenency, he resigned and left the place open for Mather Byles, Jr., of New London, who forsook the

Congregational ministry and sailed for ordination to England in 1768.

Byles, like Cutler, was born in Boston and graduated from Harvard. He was thirty-three when he was ordained by the Bishop of London. Oxford University gave him a degree of D. D. after ordination.

Byles' rectorship lasted only six and a half years. He was an exuberant Tory, which did not add to his popularity in town and parish, and he was likewise involved in a salary dispute with his Vestry. Both Byles and the S. P. G. had expected that his salary was to be one hundred pounds plus forty granted by the Society. The Vestry maintained that the hundred pounds they had promised included the forty provided by the S. P. G. When the Society ruled otherwise, the Vestry made a compromise offer of 80 pounds, which Byles accepted under protest. The near approach of the Revolution ended Byles' not untroubled rectorship. In April, 1775, he resigned his charge and served a while as a chaplain to the British forces in Boston, and later in Nova Scotia, dying in 1814. For three years, until 1778, Christ Church remained closed. Then the Rev. Stephen C. Lewis, who had been a chaplain in Burgoyne's captured army, officiated for seven years, until the post-Revolutionary organization of the Diocese of Massachusetts. Christ Church was formally incorporated in June, 1787, under the Rev. William Montague.

The third parish in Boston began in 1735. After four years of a shifting ministry from without, the Rev. Addington Davenport, assistant minister at King's Chapel, was elected rector of Trinity by the pew holders in 1740, an office he held until his death in 1746, on a trip to England. In 1747, Mr. William Hooper, a Congregational pastor, was then chosen rector and sent to England for ordination by Bishop Benson. He died at his post in 1767. Four years before his death, the Rev. William Walter had been elected assistant minister on the newly established Greene Foundation. He succeeded Hooper, and was in his turn succeeded as assistant minister by Samuel Parker. Parker, elected in 1774, remained on as minister of the parish when Walter withdrew with the British forces. He kept up the church services in peace, by omitting, with the advice and consent of the Vestry, the prayers for the King and Royal Family. Parker's great services to the Church in Massachusetts began before the Revolution and continued till his sudden death thirty years later, shortly after his consecration as the second bishop of Massachusetts.

We may now mention the parishes of the North Shore, of which the earliest was Queen Anne's Chapel in Newbury, dating from 1712. In 1740, St. Paul's, Newburyport, was founded, and eventually absorbed the older chapel. Not much later than Newbury was St. Michael's, Marblehead, dating from 1714. St. Peter's, Salem, came in 1733 and, in 1762, Amesbury, which had no church building. Later these last four all emerged from the woes of the Revolution and formed a strong part of the Massachusetts Diocese in its early days.

The South Shore parishes began with a congregation in the spreading town of Braintree, in 1702. Christ Church, Quincy, the strong descendant of the Braintree chapel, can thus claim to be the oldest surviving parish of the diocese, King's Chapel having turned Unitarian. Other parishes to the south of Boston were slower in developing, though more numerous than those of the North Shore. St. Andrew's, Scituate, began in 1727, ante-dating Trinity, Boston. St. Thomas, Taunton, now a large parish, came fifteen years later in 1742. In the same year Trinity, Marshfield, now a fair-sized mission, began its two centuries of death and resurrection. In 1747, came Trinity, Bridgewater, still a relatively small parish; in 1756, Christ Church — now St. Paul's — in Dedham; and in 1755, Stoughton — now Canton — developing lately as a growing suburban church.

To the four parishes of the North Shore, the three of Boston and the six of the South Shore, we may add five others — St. Michael's, Bristol, founded in 1722 and ceded to Rhode Island in 1748; St. Paul's, Hopkinton, dating from 1738; Christ Church, Cambridge (1759); St. James, Great Barrington (1761); and St. Luke's, Lanesborough (1763). These seventeen parishes (excluding Bristol) survived the Revolution and persist today in smallness or strength. Great Barrington and Lanesborough are the oldest parishes of what is now The Diocese of Western Massachusetts.

Queen Anne's Chapel, Newbury (1712) grew out of a factional dispute among the Congregationalists of the town. For a minority of the residents of Newbury, who had been legally worsted in their attempt to establish a second Congregational Chapel near their homes, were advised to avoid legal complications by making their Chapel a Church of England parish. A petition, accordingly, was presented to Governor Dudley to that effect. It was granted, and Chaplain Lambton was detailed to make a start with the work. In 1715, the Rev. Henry Lucas was transferred to Newbury from Braintree, which was then in a parlous condition. Lucas, evidently a psychopath of some sort, and unnerved by parochial difficulties, died in August, 1720. Wrote Judge Sewall in his Diary: " 'Tis said Mr. Lucas, the Church of England minister, cut his own throat at Newbury. However, the minister of Marblehead set a good face on it, had the corpse carried into the Church and preached a funeral sermon." This Marblehead minister, David Mossom, reported that since Lucas' death, he had officiated frequently at Newbury. "There were present above one hundred people, twenty of which were communicants."

In late 1720, the Rev. Matthias Plant was appointed by the S. P. G. to Newbury. He was kindly welcomed, and church contributions were, this time, cheerfully made. The members of the congregation numbered nearly 200, some of them coming four and six miles to the services. The demand of the Congregationalists, that Churchmen continue to pay taxes for the support of the Congrega-

tional parish, was appealed to Governor Shute, who promptly decided in the Church's favor.

The Newbury parish continued to grow, but the emergence of Newburyport as an important shipping center led to the establishment of another parish there, which gradually over-shadowed the earlier one. Though the people at the Port invited Plant to conduct their services every other Sunday, it was some years before they were actually ready to elect him rector. His dress, they said, was "not canonical." He wore a gaudy kerchief instead of a sober "band." On June 24, 1751, however, he was inducted as rector. Soon after, Edward Bass, later to be the first bishop of Massachusetts, was sent to England to be ordained as Plant's assistant. When Plant died in 1758, Bass succeeded to the rectorship. He carried the little parish successfully through the Revolution by bowing to the storm. Like Parker at Trinity, Boston, he omitted from the services the prayers for the King and Royal Family. Consequently, in 1779, the S. P. G. dropped Bass from the list of its missionaries. The financial loss, however, was made up in part by some of the parish. Ten years before that, old St. Anne's Chapel, long abandoned, had succumbed to wind and weather. All Saints, West Newbury, a parish of 110 communicants, now takes its place.

In the neighboring seaport of Marblehead, a Church of England parish came into being in 1714, just two years after St. Anne's, Newbury. But long before that there were, evidently, quite a number of people in the town familiar with the old liturgy. "Marblehead is a seaport, the second town in all New England, very considerable for the number of its inhabitants, for its Commerce and especially for the Fishery carried on there. A great number of these People were desirous to have the Church of England service settled there. In the year 1707 they made subscriptions for building a Church amounting to 416 L. They wrote letters to the Bishop of London, and to the Society acquainting them with their Desires of having a Minister of the Church of England, and declaring their intentions of building a Church."*

The next year, John Talbot, on a tour for the S. P. G., preached at Marblehead, but decided not to build any more churches till men could be found to man them. However, the Marblehead people went ahead with their building project, and a Mr. Shaw was sent there as a missionary. Shaw remained only three years (having had differences with his Clerk, Charles Jackson, who had set himself up as a rival preacher), and returned to England. The Marblehead church building is the oldest one in the diocese in continual use.

In 1719, David Mossom, who later was to bury Henry Lucas of Newbury, came to the parish. He did well spiritually, but materially the story was quite different. Salary payments were irregular and a house once provided for Mossom's use was taken away, with the

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*Batchelder, I, p. 428.

result that he had to pay 25 pounds a year, a good part of his income, for rent. So, after several years, Mossom betook himself to Virginia in hopes of bettering his condition.

In the autumn of 1727, George Pigot, who had served at Stratford and Providence, was transferred to Marblehead. He began a vigorous ministry, with forty-five to ninety baptisms a year, mostly of children. In 1733, he reported six baptisms in Salem, where there were nine communicants. In that year St. Peter's, Salem, began its career, a century after the banishment of the brothers Brown.

Pigot remained at Marblehead for eleven years, reporting an enormous number of baptisms nearly every year. A fifth of the 6,000 inhabitants of Marblehead, he said, might be counted as adherents or favorers of the Church of England. In 1738, a "Pestilential distemper" carried off over 400 people in Marblehead, including four of Pigot's children. Pigot himself slipped once on the winter ice and again on the spring grass, each time breaking his arm. In September he wrote and obtained leave to go to England, where, soon after, he was inducted into the rectorship of Chaldon, Surrey. Therewith, his sixteen years of missionary work in America, and the dreams of a barony which he might carve out of his wife's acres, the daughter of a Rhode Island Governor, came to an end.

The next rector was Alexander Malcolm, an ordained schoolmaster in New York, who stayed for nine years. John Barnard, the Congregational minister in Salem, who has left us in his Autobiography graphic sketches of the Marblehead Church of England ministers, says this of Malcolm: "Their fourth minister was a Scotch gentleman, of great learning, and being originally of the Kirk of Scotland, still retained some fondness for it, and therefore, though true to the Church of England, was yet far from a bigot. With him we lived in close friendship, till upon some prospect and invitation to what he thought better accommodations, he also left his church and went to Maryland — which occasioned their sexton to say 'Their church was the healthiest Church in the Country, for they never buried a minister yet, though they had had four, who all run away'."*

There ensued a four-year vacancy. The S. P. G., before sending the parish anyone else, demanded that a parsonage and glebe, with regular salary, be provided for the minister. The Parish agreed, and Peter Bours, an M.A. of Harvard and a native of Rhode Island, was sent to England for ordination in 1753.

Bours likewise had a great number of baptisms, over 200 in his first three years. How many of these were children who never grew up we can only conjecture. Presumptively, the usual forty or fifty percent ratio of child mortality prevailed. Eight years after his arrival, Bours reported to the S. P. G., in 1761, that "the greatest unanimity reigns among the several denominations in that place,

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*Humphreys, pp. 328, 329.

that he had constantly a full audience who are in general devout in their worship and exemplary in their lives." Bours passed away on February 24, 1762, after a rectorship lasting nine years. At last, the parish was able to bury a rector, aged only thirty-six at that!

John Barnard has this to say about Bours: "Their fifth minister was the worthy Mr. Bours of Rhode Island, bred at our college — a man of excellent temper, good learning and great piety, whose good carriage gained more to the Church of England than all the years that preceded him. My people were fond of him and kind to him, insomuch that the Church minister has told me, he received more presents from my people than from his own." Evidently in Marblehead, denominational relations were more harmonius than in many other parts of the Colony.

The last pre-Revolutionary rector of St. Michael's was Joshua Wingate Weeks, born in Hampton, New Hampshire, and a graduate of Harvard in 1758. He was ordained in 1763 in England, the Marblehead parish contributing thirty pounds toward the expenses of the journey. Week's incumbency was successful enough, till the Revolutionary troubles began. Unlike Bass, of Newburyport, to whose dismissal by the S. P. G. he seems to have contributed, he refused to budge on the issue of omitting prayers for the King. In 1775, he was obliged to flee for refuge, with his family, to the house of his brother-in-law, the Rev. Jacob Bailey in Pownalborough in Maine. In 1776, he returned to Marblehead and officiated for a time. In 1778, he sailed from New York for England, leaving his family dependent on charity.

We may now turn to the story of St. Peter's Church, Salem. George Pigot of Marblehead reported nine communicants there and six baptisms in 1733. In that same year the parish was organized, Mr. Philip English and his family giving the land, valued at 120 pounds, for a Church edifice. A minister, however, was long in coming. Finally, in 1739, the Rev. Charles Brockwell, an Englishman, who was much discontented with the "little service" he felt he could render at Scituate, was transferred to Salem. He continued in faithful and successful performance of his duties until he became, seven years later in 1746, assistant minister at King's Chapel in Boston. His successor was the Rev. William McGilchrist, born in 1703 in Scotland and a graduate of Oxford. Before coming to Salem, he had had a four year term in South Carolina until ill health sent him home. In 1747 .he began a thirty-year ministry in Salem, closing the Church in 1777, rather than to omit the prayers for the King. Three years later he died, bequeathing three-years' back salary to the parish, and his library to his successor. Services were continued sporadically by a lay reader until the Rev. Nathaniel Fisher, born in Dedham, a graduate of Harvard in 1763, became rector in 1782. Fisher had been the last New England colonial to go over to England for ordination. The Bishop of London ordained him in 1777 for work in Nova Scotia.

Turning to the parishes of the South Shore, we may begin with the earliest, that in Braintree, founded in 1702, when the first missionary, the Rev. William Barclay, was appointed by the S. P. G. He stayed just two years. After seven years of vacancy, Thomas Eager officiated during 1711 and 1712. In 1713, he asked Sir Francis Nicholson, who had then general supervision of the missions in the North, to get for him the arrears of his salary and to grant him a dismissal. This was done. Eager was succeeded for a short time by Henry Lucas, who six years later died in Newbury. For ten years the parish had no missionary until the Rev. Ebenezer Miller began a long and fruitful ministry in 1727. In the meantime, a church building had been erected, the land being given by the father and uncle of the Rev. William Vesey, the first rector of Trinity Church, New York.

St. Paul's, Dedham, originally called Christ Church, had its origin in occasional services conducted by Dr. Cutler of Christ Church, Boston, in 1732-33. In 1733, an effort was made to build a church in the village, but subscribers were too few. The most that the good Church people could do was to attend services in Boston, bringing back a certificate to this effect from the minister. Otherwise they were liable to prosecution as Sabbath-breakers.

In the years from 1734 to 1736, the town of Dedham was induced to free Church folk from taxes for the support of the local Congregational minister. Even then, plans for a church building seemed premature, and the Rev. Ebenezer Miller of Braintree for some years officiated in Dedham, as often as his other duties permitted. Thus: "1758, Jan. 8 Doct. Miller carried on the Church Sarvis in the Meeting House and preached to a great number."*

Shortly thereafter, by the provisions of the will of Samuel Colburn, who had lost his life in the French-Indian War, a church building was begun, and finished in 1760. This was located across the street from the present St. Paul's. Services were conducted there by Dr. Miller, by his successor Edward Winslow and by a new S. P. G. missionary to Dedham and Stoughton, the Rev. William Clark, from 1768 on.

This last parson ran into great trouble in 1778 and 1779. A mob ransacked his house one night. "He was taken on a warrant, denied bail, carried to a public house, thence hurried to Boston on a hot day, and had only half an hour allowed him to procure two bondsmen — Upon his trial he was denied counsel, and was not permitted to know what was alledged against him, which through his deafness he could not hear. The consequence was, he was sentenced to banishment and confiscation of estate, and sent on board a guardship, in order to be transported to the West Indies, or to some port in Europe. But his asthma having much increased by his confinement, he obtained leave to return home a prisoner (having but one

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*Batchelder, II, p. 65.

mile excursion) under bonds of 500 L. penalty. — He was induced to get leave to go to some place under the King's protection for the benefit of his health. He got to Newport (by the kind intervention of Fisher Ames) where he remained for some time, with little to support him but the kind hand of charity. At length, by the liberality of Sir H. Clinton (who has much tender regard for the distresses of the clergy) he was ordered a passage, and furnished by his Excellency with provisions and money for the voyage, and is since come to England, depending chiefly, as many others, on bounty of the Society for support."* The Dedham parish remained without a minister until 1790. Today St. Paul's counts 500 communicants and the parish of the Good Shepherd 300, as of 1957.

St. Andrew's Church, Scituate, began with the occasional ministrations of Ebenezer Miller of Braintree. In 1731, a church building was erected on Church Hill. In 1732-33, the Rev. Addington Davenport, later first regular rector of Trinity Church, Boston, was appointed missionary at Scituate, and did good work for several years. His successor was Charles Brockwell, who soon secured a transfer to Salem. The next regular missionary was Ebenezer Thompson, who served with success from 1749 to his death in December 1775, due to bodily infirmities, aggravated by harsh treatment at the hands of the Patriots. (The church in Scituate has recently been revived.) Thompson was responsible for the rise of the little church in Marshfield. He also officiated in Bridgewater and Plymouth.

So much for the parishes to the south of Boston. We turn to those which arose to the west, beginning with the nearest, Christ Church, Cambridge.

This great parish — as it now is — was launched on its vicissitudinous career at the intellectual center of Puritanism in 1759, with the appointment of East Apthorp, a fellow of the University of Cambridge, who on a visit to Boston, was induced to labor at the Cambridge across the seas. A structure "useful and durable, as well as decently elegant" and suited to enlargement, was planned. Old Christ Church is the architectural result.

The building was formally opened on October 15, 1761, Apthorp contributing his first two years' salary toward the considerable cost of construction. In 1764, he resigned, partly because of the violent attack which the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew of Boston made on the S. P. G. The burden of these attacks was that the S. P. G. was exceeding its chartered mission, and had no business to intrude into an already Christian land.

In 1766, the Rev. Winwood Serjeant was transferred by the S. P. G. from South Carolina to the mission at Cambridge. Soon after, he wrote: "My duty lies within a narrow circle." Six years later,

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*7th S. P. G. Anniversary Sermon 1778-79, quoted from Batchelder, II, p. 69.

he was able to write: "My communicants make a superior figure to most in the country." Two years after that, on March 12, 1774, he informed the S. P. G.: "There are between fifteen and twenty families, six of them possessed of ample fortunes, the rest in very easy circumstances, who have retired from business. The income of the Church seldom exceeds 70 L per annum. The populace are engaged almost daily in riots and tumults. On the 7th inst. they made a second destruction of thirty chests of tea. Political commotions run extremely high in Boston; if not suppressed soon, the whole province is in danger of being thrown into anarchy and confusion."

Soon thereafter the parish broke up. Many of the well-to-do members dwelling on Brattle Street, then known as "Tory Row," had fled north for safety. Serjeant was soon compelled to follow them. Wrote Henry Caner from the security of British-held Boston: "Mr. Serjeant of Cambridge has been obliged with his family to flee for the safety of their lives, nor can I learn where he is concealed. His fine church is turned into a barracks by the rebels, and a beautiful organ that was in it broke to pieces."*

With the coming of Washington, such use of the church building was discontinued. Later, with the arrival of his wife, services were held there. Still later, when captured prisoners of Burgoyne's army were quartered in Cambridge, one of their chaplains, Stephen C. Lewis, conducted services. Lewis, subsequently, officiated for seven years in Christ Church, Boston. Christ Church, Cambridge, remained in disuse and disrepair until 1790.

Turning farther west, we may glance at St. Paul's, Hopkinton, which, after nearly two centuries of vicissitude, now numbers 132 communicants. This little parish, so often despaired of, began as a sort of summer-resort church for wealthy members of King's Chapel. Roger Price founded it and left it a considerable endowment in land, building also a small church. After his return to England, the place languished for many years, its endowment largely dissipated. Only recently, has it been placed on sure foundations.

It is far cry from Hopkinton, a bare twenty-five miles from Boston, to Lanesborough and Great Barrington in the Berkshires. The interior territory beyond was not opened up for Churchmen until two generations after the Revolutionary War, not till cotton manufacturing reached the watercourses of central Massachusetts. Then, small mill parishes grew up at Clappville—now Rochdale; and at Wilkinsonville, so named after a Pawtucket manufacturer, a cummunicant of newy-founded St. Paul's in that city.

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*Batchelder, II, pp. 46-48.

Great Barrington and Lanesborough had their beginnings in people and pastors of Connecticut origin. The second generation of Churchmen in Connecticut gradually settled in towns north of the original coastal parishes. Their sons and daughters, if not they themselves, paddled up the Naugatuck and Housatonic to western Massachusetts. The tide was not long in reaching southern Vermont. Not a few Tories settled in northwest Vermont, supposing it to be a part of Canada. Church people in eastern Vermont and western New Hampshire came mostly from the towns near the Connecticut river. The next century even saw a line of packet boats plying between Hartford and Bellows Falls, Vermont.

The two colonial parishes of western Masachusetts are another gift from Connecticut. St. James, Great Barrington, was the first to be organized. Its formation was due to the dissatisfaction of the Lutheran settlers from New York and of some of English and Connecticut extraction with the rigid Calvinism of the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, the author of the so-called Hopkinsian system of Divinity. About 1760, a number of dissidents, seceded from the Congregational Church and, under the leadership of the Rev. Solomon Palmer, an S. P. G. missionary in Connecticut, organized "the Society of St. James." The Rev. Thomas Davies of New Milford, Connecticut, visited the group the following year. In a report to the S. P. G. he writes: "They informed me that many of them had long been dissatisfied with their dissenting instructions, being constantly taught rigid calvinism, and that sin is an infinite advantage, and advanced happiness greatly in the world; that if the church was introduced there they must pay tithes; that the Church was just like the papists; that the Service Book was taken from the Mass Book. I chose a clerk — a very regular and pious man, long acquainted with the Church to read prayers with them, as they in conscience could not go to meeting. One of the most steady among them was imprisoned last summer for non-attendance; and they all would be if they did not meet among themselves.

"There are near 40 families, conformists, in this town; people of worth and fame."*

In 1762, Ebenezer Punderson, the ex-Congregational minister of Groton, Connecticut, who had conformed to the Church in 1734, twice visited the parish, "where I spent some time and preached on Sundays and lectured to crowded auditories, and administered the two sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. I took a great deal of pains with that people to instruct them in the principles, doctrines and government of the Church of England." Punderson also preached to a large congregation in Sheffield.

From 1763 to 1766, Solomon Palmer of Litchfield, Connecticut, left his parish to do missionary work in western Massachusetts, returning to Litchfield after three years.

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*Batchelder, II, p. 73-75. He quotes from two church documents (Conn.).

His successor was Gideon Bostwick, a Yale graduate, who was schoolmaster and lay reader in Great Barrington. Finally, in 1769, partly by the intervention of Samuel Johnson at Stratford, he was enabled to go to England, and be ordained by the Bishop of London. The next year he returned to Great Barrington.

Bostwick was a diligent and efficient worker. He added to his cure the new parish of Lanesborough, officiating there once a month. Not content with that, he also took occasional services at Hudson, New York, and at Manchester and Arlington in Vermont, which places he seems to have regarded as part of his Massachusetts parish. Although a Tory, Bostwick, apparently had little trouble with the Patriots. He continued in active service until 1793, when he died of pneumonia. During his ministry, Bostwick baptized 81 adults and 2,244 children, and officiated at 120 weddings and 84 funerals.

"Mr. Bostwick was always much beloved by his people. He read the service with great propriety, and his sermons were chaste and instructive. In social and domestic life he was cheerful and facetious, and in public his deportment was such as to inspire respect."*

Some of the early inhabitants of Lanesborough were Churchmen, mostly from Connecticut. In 1767, the Rev. Samuel Andrews, missionary at Wallingford, Connecticut, made a northward tour as far as Arlington and Sunderland, Vermont, the last 150 miles away from home. He officiated one Sunday in Arlington, presumably in Jehiel Hawley's house, and one Sunday in Lanesborough. There he organized St. Luke's parish. "There are about seventy families in the town of Lanesborough, who have settled a violent, enthusiastic preacher among them, at the absurdity of whose doctrines many of the people are extremely shocked."* A dozen families had already conformed to the Church, having a church meeting by themselves every Sunday. In 1768, the Rev. Richard Mansfield of Derby, Connecticut, made a similar journey to the northward areas. "I performed a long journey to seven or eight towns of the colonies of New York and Massachusetts Bay — who are very desirous of missionaries covering among them. At Lanesborough I found a considerable number of serious and sensible professors of the Church of England who, having been tired out with the rigid doctrines of enthusiastic independent teachers of the town, had embraced the Church of England, built themselves a church in which they constantly meet and join in our Liturgy, and in reading good sermons."*

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*Batchelder, II, p. 80 to 84.

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*Batchelder, II, p. 83.

The first rector of Lanesborough, was Gideon Bostwick of Great Barrington, who officiated there once a month. The other Sunday services were cared for, after 1783, by Daniel Burhans, a local schoolmaster who, in 1793 and 1794, was ordained deacon and priest by Bishop Seabury of Connecticut, this being one of the seventeen ordinations which Bishop Seabury performed for places outside of Connecticut. On Bostwick's death in 1793, Burhans succeeded to the rectorship of the Lanesborough parish, remaining there for six years. From 1799 to 1830 he officiated at Newton, Connecticut, bringing the number of communicants from 160 to 316. He was then seventy. Another fourteen years of varied ministry in smaller places followed. He then retired to Poughkeepsie, New York, dying in full possession of his faculties in 1853, at the age of ninety.

Such, in brief, is the story of the Colonial parishes of Massachusetts. They were all prospering and pastorally cared for until the woes of the Revolution broke upon them. For most of them recovery was slow.

CHAPTER III.

Revolution and Reorganization

1776 - 1810

I

When the woes of the Revolution broke over colonial America, the Anglican Church in New England had some sixty-five congregations and thirty-five ministers. Twenty of these, all colonials, served the forty parishes of Connecticut. The other fifteen, many of them Englishmen, ministered to the twenty-five congregations of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Hampshire.

At the end of the war, fourteen of Connecticut's twenty clergy were still about and ready to work. In Massachusetts, only Edward Bass of Newburyport and Samuel Parker of Trinity Church, Boston, had survived the political tempests of the time, by omitting from their services the prayers for the King and Royal Family. In Rhode Island, John Usher, the beloved rector of Bristol for fifty years, had just died. The rectors of Providence, and Newport, both Englishmen, were excluded from public officiating by their congregations for refusing to omit the prayers for the Royal Family. The rector of Newport left with the British forces when they evacuated that town. In New Hampshire, the rector of Portsmouth had been driven into exile, and Rana Cossit at Claremont was silenced by his fellow citizens.

Inevitably, the revival began first in Connecticut. In 1784, ten of the fourteen remaining clergy of the new State met at Woodbury to elect a bishop. When Joshua Leaming declined the difficult honor, the lot fell on their second choice, Samuel Seabury, son of the former rector at New London. Seabury had been driven by the Patriots from his parish in Westchester, New York, and had served as chaplain in the British Army. A pension from the British Government helped to finance the long journey to Great Britain and to make easier his lot as rector in New London and Bishop of Connecticut.

The English bishops, though sympathetic, had no authority from Parliament to ordain foreigners who could not swear an oath of allegiance to the British Crown — authority, however, which was soon granted, after Seabury had obtained consecration in Scotland. That land had a small Anglican Church whose ministers and bishops had refused to swear allegiance to the "usurping" House of Hanover, and so were free to give consecration to the American. On November 14, 1784, in the private chapel of Robert Kilgour, bishop of Aberdeen, Seabury was consecrated a bishop in the Church of God, by Kilgour and two neighboring prelates.

Shortly before this event (in 1784), six clergy of Massachusetts and two from Rhode Island, attended a Convocation in Boston, the main business of which was to issue a call for the clergy and lay delegates from the non-Connecticut parishes to meet a year later. In the meantime, Seabury had returned to Connecticut and had held his own first Convocation, a purely clerical gathering. It was not until 1792 that a Convocation composed of both clerical and lay

delegates ratified the Constitution, Canons, and Prayer Book put out by the General Convention of 1789. Seabury had yielded to the demands of other dioceses regarding lay representation in Diocesan and General Conventions, but had won General Convention recognition of his own consecration and the right of bishops to sit apart from the clergy and laity, as well as of certain additions to the Communion Service of the English Church taken from the Liturgy of the Church in Scotland. In the five years between 1784 and 1789, the American Church had acquired, through consecration in England, three more bishops of its own: White of Pennsylvania, Provoost of New York, and Madison of Virginia. In 1792, Seabury took part in the consecration of Thomas J. Claggett of Maryland.

The year 1790 was a memorable one in New England Episcopalian history. In that year, Bishop Seabury and his clergy accepted provisionally the Constitution, Canons and Prayer Book of the 1789 General Convention, and called a convention of both clergy and laity to ratify the same in 1792. In 1790, clergy and laity in Massachusetts met for the purpose of more completely organizing the Diocese, with a view eventually of securing a local bishop. This was not to come, however, for another six years. In 1790, two clergymen and five laymen of Rhode Island organized a diocese in that State and elected Seabury as their diocesan. This election Seabury accepted, attending two diocesan conventions and officiating at four ordinations and several confirmations. In 1790, two clergymen and lay representatives from eight congregations (none of them possessing Church buildings of their own) organized the Diocese of Vermont. New Hampshire congregations did not formally get together until 1802, nor those of Maine, until 1820, when it became a State separated from Massachusetts.

II.

THE EPISCOPATE OF EDWARD BASS

Edward Bass, on his mother's side, was descended from John Alden and Priscilla Mullens. His paternal ancestor in America was Deacon Samuel Bass, who settled in Roxbury in 1630 and died in 1694. His great-grandson, Edward Bass, was born to Samuel and Elizabeth Bass in Dorchester on November 23, 1726, being baptized four days later in the Old First Church.

Edward, when thirteen, entered the Harvard class of 1744. In his day, the old classical curriculum, with Hebrew added, had just been enriched by elementary offerings in astronomy, physics, geometry and philosophy.

After graduation, Bass continued at Harvard for another three years, earning a Master's degree and getting his livelihood by teaching in nearby schools. His Master's thesis, typical of the time, was

on the subject: "Will the Blessed in the Future World, after the Last Judgement, make use of Articulate Speech, and Will That be Hebrew?" To both questions his answer was, Yes.

Next, Bass decided to study for the Congregational ministry. He declined a call to Boxford, where the congregation was engaged in trying to get rid of an old minister and to build a new church. Soon after, being favorably impressed by the ways of the Church of England, he accepted an assistantship at St. Paul's, Newburyport, to the aging Matthias Plante. This involved a journey to London for ordination. Bass took with him letters of recommendation from the President and the four professors of Harvard College, and the Rev. Mr. Miller of Braintree. However, the Rev. Charles Brockwell of Boston wrote to the Bishop of London describing Bass as a "forward young man" who had ventured to preach before he was ordained. "How much such proceedings may conduce to the contempt of religion and the Ministry, I humbly submit to your Lordship." Of course, the young man would be duly fortified with testimonials "from their Seminary of Schism" (Harvard).

Bishop Sherlock received the young candidate kindly, and, after examining him, had him translate the Thirty Nine Articles into Latin.

On May 17, 1752, Bass was ordained deacon, and priest a week later. In less than a year, on Plante's death on April 21, 1753, he succeeded to the rectorship at Newburyport, a station still assisted by the S. P. G.

At this time Bass was "only about twenty-seven years of age; young, strong and healthy, of a medium height, well-proportioned, having a pleasing face, with blue eyes and a fair complexion and light hair. The only defect in the face was the length of the nose. The two portraits painted at a much later date, give, however, the general shape and contour of the head."*

Shortly thereafter, Bass married Sarah Beck, who died thirty-six years later. Within six months of her death, Bass, then sixty-three, married Mercy Phillips, then thirty-four. The event caused no small talk in the town. Bass amused his little congregation by choosing sermon texts that made oblique references to the town talk. Thus: "My mercy will I keep (Ps. 89:28), and "Surely the fear of God is not in this place, and they will slay me for my wife's sake." (Gen. XX, 11). Mercy Phillips lived to be eighty-seven, a faithful companion to Bass for the remaining fourteen years of his life. Doubtless, she became known, as did the widow of Bishop Griswold, as his "venerable relic."

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*D. D. Addison: **Life and Times of Edward Bass.** Boston, 1897. p. 53.

The fifty-one years of the Bass rectorship were, for the most part, quiet ones. The most unpleasant incident, undoubtedly, was Bass' dismissal by the S. P. G. as an aider and abettor of rebellion. That Bass, however, was generally regarded in Newburyport as a Tory would seem clear from another incident. One night, when Bass and his wife were returning from a social gathering, they were espied by a mob of roughs and pelted home with sticks and stones.

After the Revolution, Newburyport blossomed again into prosperity. Its merchants traded on the Seven Seas. Therewith St. Paul's Newburyport, resumed its quiet growth, and Bass became an honored man in State and town, making preaching journeys as far away as Kingston, Rhode Island. He became Massachusetts' leading clergyman and its logical choice for bishop.

The six years of the Bass episcopate were uneventful ones. The new bishop was wisely modest and made no pretensions to autocratic rule. The diocese recovered slowly from its Revolutionary disasters and grew somewhat, though the bishop made no attempt to visit Lanesborough and Great Barrington in the far west of his jurisdiction, or hardly any of the parishes in his additional diocese of Rhode Island. The successive diocesan conventions passed uneventfully, with four to seven clergymen present, and two to six parishes represented by lay delegates. Until the second year of Bishop Griswold (1812) no parochial reports were made or, at least, recorded.

The bishop's life came to a quiet close on September 10, 1803, when he was seventy-seven. The last important act of his fifty-one years at Newburyport had been the consecration of its new parish church on October 8, 1800. Dr. Samuel Parker of Trinity Church, Boston, who preached the funeral sermon, spoke of him as "a sound divine, a critical scholar, an accomplished gentleman and thorough Christian."

Bass must be regarded as an old-fashioned Low Churchman because of his attitude toward Non-conformity, even if the High Churchmen in his day were not so antagonistic to Protestant sects and practices as was the later high Churchmanship of Bishop Hobart of New York and the still later Anglo-Catholicism. Bass was always friendly with his ecclesiastical neighbors and could be mighty in extemporanous prayer. These two considerations would seem to put him on the "low" side of the ecclesiastical fence.

Although the episcopate of Bishop Bass was more distinguished for the spirit and sense which he displayed than for any long catalogue of episcopal acts and accomplishments, yet a few of these may be recorded. Thus, he consecrated two new churches, one at Dedham and one in Newburyport. He ordained nine men altogether, men who were to count heavily in the life of the infant church. Two were to be future bishops. One of them, Theodore Dehon, went to Newport, Rhode Island, and restored Trinity Church to its pre-

Revolutionary prosperity. He declined any suggestion of election as bishop of the Eastern Diocese, and went, in 1811, to St. Michael's, Charleston, South Carolina, shortly thereafter becoming bishop there for a brief period of years. The second future bishop was Nathaniel Bowen, who served at Providence and elsewhere, and succeeded Dehon in South Carolina. Bishop Bass also assisted in one consecration, shortly after his own, namely, that of Abraham Jarvis, the second bishop of Connecticut. The other consecrators were White of Pennsylvania and Provoost of New York. Three bishops of the English succession thus united in setting apart a successor to the one American bishop of the Scottish line. Bass also took a prominent part in the General Convention of 1799. He helped greatly to eliminate a Canon which had given wide latitude to a bishop in dispensing with educational requirements for candidates seeking ordination. As an unusually well-educated man, Bass did not believe in laying hands hastily on the ignorant.

The episcopate of Bishop Bass was a day of small things. No new parishes were added, only old ones revived. Nevertheless, the foundations were being laid for the long and apostolic episcopate of Alexander Viets Griswold who, as bishop of the Eastern Diocese, consisting of all New England excepting Connecticut, in thirty years, brought five active dioceses into being, multiplying clergy seven-fold and communicants ten times.

In Massachusetts, Bass was succeeded in 1804 by Samuel Parker of Trinity Church, Boston, who, however, died within four months after consecration, without performing a single recorded episcopal act. This blow so discouraged Massachusetts Churchmen that they gave up the idea of having a bishop of their own and promoted the so-called Eastern Diocese, a federation consisting of the dioceses in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Vermont, and New Hampshire. Maine was a part of Massachusetts until 1820, when two little parishes at Portland and Gardiner organized a separate diocese.

By 1810, the four component dioceses had federated themselves loosely into the Eastern Diocese. Sufficient funds were gathered, chiefly in Massachusetts to provide $400 a year for the bishop's expenses. The man elected had to find his livelihood as rector of a parish, with sufficient energy and health to manage a far-flung jurisdiction. The only obvious choice was Alexander Viets Griswold of Bristol, Rhode Island, J. S. J. Gardiner of Boston and Theodore Dehon of Newport declining to be considered. Griswold, ordained by Seabury, was most reluctant, but finally consented. In May, 1811, he was consecrated the twelfth bishop of the American Succession, along with John Henry Hobart of New York.

CHAPTER IV.

Massachusetts in the

Eastern Diocese

1810 - 1843

Alexander Viets Griswold was born in Simsbury, Connecticut, on April 22, 1766, a son of a substantial landowner, "Squire Griswold." The Griswolds, who had come a century before from Massachusetts, had always been Churchmen. Alexander's maternal uncle, Roger Viets, who was to play a large part in his future, had been converted at Yale from Congregationalism to the Church.

When the Griswold family became financially ruined by the levies and exactions of the Patriots in the Revolution, Roger Viets invited his nephew to come to work and study with him at his farm. Since Roger Viets' allowance from the S. P. G. had been cut off by the War, he needed agricultural help to maintain himself as a parochial minister. Under this arrangement Alexander was to be prepared for the senior class at Yale. His precocious childhood seemed to point him to the career of college professor. However, Viets, soon after the Revolution, secured a parish in Digby, Nova Scotia, where the S. P. G. grants were still in force. This posed a problem. Alexander, though only nineteen, was affianced to a neighbor's daughter, Elizabeth Michelson, then but seventeen. Finally, it was decided that the young couple should marry and eventually follow uncle Roger Viets to Canada. In the meantime, the girl's family, having heard evil reports of Digby's climate, interfered. So Alexander went to work on a small farm he had acquired and began to prepare himself for a profession. College teaching seemed out of reach. Business and the Law attracted him temporarily, but with a heightened interest in the local church, the ministry became his goal. After nearly ten years of farm labor by day and long study by pine knot fire by night, he prepared himself for ordination. Diocesan Convention accepted him as a candidate, and Bishop Seabury at the end of his episcopate, ordained him deacon and priest.

The ten years of study on the farm prepared Griswold for ten years of labor in the cure of Plymouth, Harwinton and Northfield. These places were about eight miles apart and travel by foot or horseback the only possibility. As a result of his labors, Griswold was able to "add 200 communicants to the Lord's Table."

In the summer of 1803, Griswold visited Bristol, Rhode Island, on a vacation. St. Michael's being vacant, he was asked to preach. He refused an immediate call to be rector, but persistence on the part of the Vestry finally bore fruit. The next summer he sailed from nearby Hartford on the sloop of one of the town's hardy navigators, "Artic John" De Wolf. The salary, based on an endowment of land was $600, twice the remuneration in his Connecticut cure. When children multiplied, Griswold tried to get his parishioners to contribute from their own pockets to an increase in salary. But the canny vestrymen declined. A bargain was a bargain, especially when it was a good one.

The Bristol church grew but slowly for seven years. Then, in the first year of Griswold's episcopate, a revival swept the town. The net results in St. Michael's were 44 adult baptisms and 100 confirmations. Another revival ten years later, after the Bishop collapsed one Sunday in the pulpit, was almost equally productive. The bishop, with a weakened heart, could only guide the affair from his bed. His future son-in-law, Stephen H. Tyng, a divinity student with the Bishop, led the revival exercises, just as J. P. K. Henshaw, Griswold's successor in the Rhode Island episcopate, had done ten years before.

From this center in the extreme southeast, Griswold guided, for eighteen years, the remarkable growth of his far-flung diocese. In 1827 his wife died, and by 1829, ten of his twelve children had passed away of tuberculosis, germs then being something unknown. In addition a depression hit the town in 1827, destroying the local bank and the bishop's carefully accumulated savings. So, in 1829, he finally heard the plea of St. Peter's Church, Salem, and assumed its rectorship for six years. The bishop had married again, but the one child of the marriage, a boy of twelve, died of scarlet fever. In 1836, the Presiding Bishopric came to him by virtue of seniority, William White of Pennsylvania having then died at the age of 88. In these last years, the funds of the Massachusetts diocese had grown sufficiently to give the bishop an annual salary of $900, on which he lived in Boston with his accustomed frugality. In December, 1842, Manton Eastburn of New York was consecrated assistant bishop and elected rector of Trinity Church, Boston, a post he held for twenty-six years, until Phillips Brooks succeeded him in 1869.

When Griswold became Bishop of the Eastern Diocese, there were only fifteen clergymen in active service: eight in Massachusetts, three each in Rhode Island and New Hampshire, and Abraham Bronson in Arlington, Vermont. After thirty-two years, with two hundred ordinations, the number of the active clergy was about 100, and five dioceses were ready to go on their separate ways. Vermont, in 1832, had already elected John Henry Hopkins as its diocesan; Manton Eastburn succeeded Griswold in Massachusetts, and John P. K. Henshaw was his succesor in Rhode Island. In 1844, Carlton Chase, rector in Bellows Falls, Vermont, an old-time high churchman, was elected bishop of the half-dozen parishes of New Hampshire and rector of Trinity Church, Claremont. Two years later, George Burgess, the evangelical rector of Christ Church, Hartford — now the cathedral — and one of the leading preachers of the Church, began a twenty-year episcopate over the handful of churches in Maine, his main support being the rectorship of Christ Church, Gardiner.

At the Massachusetts Diocesan Convention of 1812, six out of eighteen congregations reported 348 communicants between them, 150 of these belonging to old Trinity on Summer Street, in Boston. Dr. Gardiner, however, added in his report that "on the great

festivals, the communicants are nearly 300." Conspicuous by their absence from the report were Great Barrington, where the bishop had confirmed over 100 persons, as well as Marblehead and Dedham. St. Andrew's, Hanover, now blessed with a rector, Jacob G. Cooper, reported 35 out of the total 348. Actually, the number of diocesan communicants was probably well over 500. In 1814, twelve parishes reported only 478 between them.

In the Griswold episcopate, the Massachusetts part of the Eastern Diocese grew from eighteen parishes to forty-seven. Communicants increased from 348 to 4,118. In 1843, the Sunday Schools enrolled 3,869. Missionary contributions, diocesan and general, had grown from nearly nothing to $10,000. All this reflected Griswold's intense interest in missions. In 1820, he was one of the founders of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Episcopal Church.

Where and how did all this Massachusetts growth take place? Chiefly in the development of new congregations, nearly all of them in the Berkshires or in and around Boston. Only two small mill village congregations appeared in central Massachusetts. In 1843, Wilkinsonville had 69 communicants and Rochdale 34, numbers about one-half those of the present.

In the western part of the State, the Connecticut impulse seems still to have been actively at work. Six new congregations arose in Springfield, Greenfield, Ashfield, Montague, Southwick and Bland-
ford. These last three rural congregations disappeared long ago. Ashfield still remains a small village parish, with its vicar often doubling as the minister of the local Congregational Church. In Springfield and Greenfield the Church has grown enormously, though Springfield still has the lowest proportion of communicants to population of any large city in New England.

In the Berkshires, the story is the same. To colonial Lanesborough and Great Barrington were added Pittsfield, Stockbridge, Lenox, Otis and Van Deusenville. Of these last two, Otis has given up the ghost and Van Deusenville barely lingers; but the first three now number some 1,800 communicants between them. Rural depletion and industrial growth tell the story.

In these same thirty-two years, the two Boston parishes of 1811 had become six, although the city was yet far from its present limits. Only the first annexation, that of South Boston, had yet taken place. The Back Bay was an expanse of tidal water, whose waves lapped the edges of the present Public Garden, and from whose banks boats containing British soldiers had begun the march to Concord and Lexington. The old parishes of Boston were Trinity on Summer Street and Christ Church in the North End. Trinity reported 350 communicants and Christ Church, with 241, was far from its present place as a historical shrine with a transient congregation. The new parishes were St. Paul's, now the cathedral,

the diocesan seat of the rising Evangelicals, which counted 350 communicants and had as rectors the eminent presbyters, John Seely Stone and Alexander H. Vinton. The largest new parish after St. Paul's, was Grace Church, now extinct, which numbered 321 communicants, where the eloquent Thomas March Clark, later Bishop of Rhode Island, was the rector. There was also a "Free Church," that is one in a poorer area with no pew rents, which had 75 communicants. A second small parish, St. Matthews, South Boston, destined to wax and wane over the next century, had 49 communicants. To the north, across the Mystic river in Chelsea, St. Luke's, also destined to wax and wane, had emerged with 39 communicants. The rise of Romanism has largely engulfed St. Matthews, while St. Luke's growth has been constricted by an increasingly Jewish population.

In Norfolk County, there were two small colonial parishes, Christ Church, Braintree (now Quincy), a large parish at the present time, and St. Paul's, Dedham, now a parish of medium size. To these were added, in areas later to be annexed to the city of Boston, St. James, Roxbury, and St. John's, Jamaica Plain. St. James, Roxbury, once in a favored neighborhood, already had 143 communicants. It grew largely in the next seventy years, especially in the long rectorship of Percy Browne, an intimate friend of Phillips Brooks. It is now in a colored section of Boston and struggles on with a membership of 182. St. John's, Jamaica Plain, has seen better days, growing largely during three-quarters of a century, but now declining to 390 communicants. Africa and Rome tell the story with St. James; it is Rome and Jewry in the case of St. John's.

Farther south, in Plymouth County, there were colonial Hanover and Bridgewater, with over 100 communicants between them, and colonial Marshfield with 9. The first two were destined to grow steadily over the next century. Recently, Marshfield, borne on the suburban tide, has managed to secure a minister of its own. A half dozen other parishes also were to rise in Plymouth County in the next episcopates.

When we turn from the South Shore to the North Shore, the story is similar. The old colonial parishes of Newburyport, Salem and Marblehead grew slowly with the years. Four others arose in these thirty-two years. Of these St. Stephen's, Lynn, has become one of the largest parishes of New England; Andover has grown sizably because of Andover Academy and of its proximity to Boston and Lawrence, while Amesbury and Ipswich, with many ups and downs, are churches of moderate and considerable size respectively.

In Middlesex County, old colonial Christ Church, Cambridge (reopened in 1790) struggled slowly upward. Even by 1843, under the long rectorship of Nicholas Hoppin, it numbered only 43 communicants. The people near Harvard Square were nearly all devotees of Unitarianism or of the old Congregational Church. About

1815, according to Stephen H. Tyng in his autobiography, the parish was served mostly by lay readers. He learned to play the organ (after a fashion, undoubtedly) to help in the services.

Another parish in Middlesex County, arising soon after 1825, was old St. Anne's, Lowell, where a cotton manufacturing village had arisen in the woods and pastures by a waterfall on the Merrimac. The employees, initially, were recruited chiefly from the farmer girls of the area. They were paid three dollars a week (one-half being retained for their board in the Company dormitories), and were expected to attend Sunday Church and Thursday Prayer Meeting and to be in bed by nine o'clock. Otherwise they were not regarded as fit inhabitants of a strait-laced and twelve-hour-a-day community. By 1843, Lowell, linked by railroad and the Middlesex Canal with Boston, had become a city—called for a time "the Manchester of America," after the cotton capital of Lancashire.

The small beginnings of St. Anne's, Lowell, were soon strengthened by the coming of textile workers from the old Country and the old Church. By 1843, St. Anne's had 320 communicants, with 565 in Sunday School. This last number was to fall somewhat; doubtless, in part, because opportunities to learn to read were now to be found elsewhere than in Sunday Schools. Theodore Edson, a stout High Churchman of the older variety, was rector in Lowell for over half a century. Another High Churchman, St. John Chambre, a convert from Methodism, had subsequently a long rectorship, as did, still later, Appleton Grannis, a broad Churchman, an ex-curate of Trinity Church, Boston. The conservative temper of St. Anne's reasserted itself, recently in the election of Francis B. Downes, an Anglo-Catholic from Providence. Soon after his arrival a side altar, with a red light, were added to the fixtures of old St. Anne's. The two present parishes of Lowell, St. Anne's, with 865 communicants, and St. John's, with 469, still bear strong Episcopal witness in an Irish city of 100,000 people.

A third parish of Middlesex County, that of St. Paul's, Hopkinton, once a summer resort for colonial Boston, had, in Griswold's day, a small church intermittently open.

The three little parishes of Hopkinton, Wilkinsonville and Rochdale represent the far west of the Boston-centered parishes. Some forty more parishes within a twenty-mile radius of these three, were later to arise. Fifty miles away in Worcester work was begun as in Christ Church, Springfield, and St. John's, Northampton, long a small parish, until industry and Smith College brought larger growth.

In 1843, Bristol County was already experiencing a taste of diocesan importance. The old parish of St. Thomas, Taunton, had 200 communicants, and was to multiply that number five-fold. Grace Church, in the old whaling town of New Bedford, had 100 communicants and 192 in Sunday School. This number was to be

multiplied nearly forty times when the capital of the town was diverted from the declining whaling industry to the manufacture of cotton. The moist climate of New Bedford, like that of Lancashire, was ideal for cotton spinning and its location made possible waterborne import of cotton and coal. Lancashire operatives came over in hundreds to the better pay and opportunities overseas. The result, after a century, was five parishes and 3,800 communicants in New Bedford and Fairhaven for the Episcopal Church.

In 1843, the little parish of the Ascension in Fall River had only 77 communicants. The same favorable conditions of damp climate and seaside location existed in Fall River as in New Bedford. Here the so-called "Fall River system" of heavy machinery arose, in contrast to the lighter machinery of the Lowell system which women could manipulate. The result was heavy migration from England of male textile workers and their families. Lancashire accents were, for many years, to dominate the streets of Fall River and New Bedford. In 1957, the seven churches of Fall River and Somerset had some 2,750 communicants between them.

In the vicinity of Boston, we may note two harbingers of the future. One is little St. Mary's in Newton Lower Falls, once a textile village. In 1843, it had the respectable number of 126 communicants, a number that was to grow only slowly over the years, until the suburban tide lifted it to new levels. St. Mary's was the forerunner of the eight present parishes in the city of Newton, with their approximately 4,400 communicants.

In contrast to this relatively recent multiplication of the Episcopal Church in the suburbs is the fate of St. John's in Charlestown, now a part of Boston. St. John's less than a century ago had 350 communicants worshipping in a large church. Today it reports only 80, in a very large population area.

During the days of the Griswold episcopate great gains were made in all the New England dioceses, gains much greater proportionately than the population increases. In Massachusetts, the growth was some ten-fold, 400 communicants to 4,118. In Rhode Island, where the bishop spent eighteen out of the thirty-two years of his episcopate, gains were about the same, communicants rising from 200 to nearly 2,000. In Vermont, despite a static population, the increase in communicants in the twenty-one years of Bishop Griswold and the first eleven years of Bishop Hopkins was almost as large proportionately, from 200 to about 1,600. Connecticut, with less spectacular growth, still remained the largest diocese of the area. In 1850, it had 9,300 communicants, only 300 less than the rest of New England combined. In New Hampshire and Maine, it was still a day of very small things. The dioceses reported, in 1850, 572 and 560 communicants respectively.

What was the theological complexion of the New England dioceses in 1843? In Rhode Island, it was chiefly conversionistic Evangelicalism. This movement had the larger places, St. Michael's, Bristol, where the bishop was succeeded by a likeminded Evangelical, John Bristed; St. John's, Providence, where Nathan Bourne Crocker for more than fifty years upheld the Evangelical doctrine; Grace Church, Providence, where several noted Evangelicals had been rectors, and St. Paul's, Pawtucket, where George Taft served for half a century, transmitting his beliefs to the Blackstone Valley parishes.

In Massachusetts, the Evangelical tide was steadily rising, coming to an ebb at the end of the episcopate of Manton Eastburn, after which Massachusetts became the chief center of Broad Churchmanship in the country and of Anglo-Catholicism in New England.

In Vermont, where the Evangelicals threatened to become dominant, the tide was turned in the direction of old-time high churchmanship through the election of John Henry Hopkins as Bishop. He barred revivals, prayer meetings, black gowns and other insignia of the Evangelicals. After two long episcopates, Vermont then turned to the newer high churchmanship of the Anglo-Catholics in the administration of Arthur C. A. Hall.

At this time, Maine was strongly Evangelical under George Burgess, first bishop of the Diocese. In the 1870s the Maine delegation to General Convention voted solidly to condemn the new Anglo-Catholic party in the Church. Now Anglo-Catholicism dominates the Diocese.

New Hampshire under Carlton Chase, who had led the anti-Evangelical movement in Vermont, was to remain old-time high Church in the long episcopate of William Woodruff Niles. Only in the last thirty-five years have men of a catholic or liberal variety transformed New Hampshire's theology.

Connecticut, on the whole, stayed by the old moorings of Seabury churchmanship. Not that Evangelicals were unknown. Kewley, later of St. George's, New York, the converter to the Church of the future Evangelical bishop of Rhode Island, J. P. K. Henshaw, as well as Philander Chase, George Burgess and Thomas M. Clark, future bishops of Ohio, Maine and Rhode Island, all held important parishes in Connecticut. Today, Connecticut reflects all the manifold variations of Episcopal churchmanship.

When Bishop Griswold died suddenly on February 15, 1843, on the doorstep of his assistant bishop, Manton Eastburn, an era in the New England dioceses was over and a still greater era was to begin. During his episcopate all the theological currents of the past had flowed. Soon the new currents of the future were to become visible. Numerically, the Church in New England had made vast strides, greater by far than the increases of a burgeoning population. After

Griswold's day, still greater advances were to be made. Today, Episcopalians, in proportion to population, are twice as numerous in New England as in the country as a whole. In this little corner of the country are a good eighth of all the Churchmen in the United States.

Bishop Griswold, his second wife and her young son are all buried in the churchyard of St. Paul's, Dedham, hard by route 1 A. Some years after his wife's death, a public subscription put a sizable monument over their remains. Bishop Eastburn is buried near them.

What did his own contemporaries think of Bishop Griswold and his work? We can find the answer in the memorial resolutions voted by the Massachusetts and Rhode Island Conventions of 1843.

In the 1843 Massachusetts Convention, a memorial "Report" was presented on the late Bishop. One paragraph reads:

"While we deeply feel the loss that we have sustained, and sincerely sympathize with the mourning family and relatives of the deceased in their affliction, our hearts are filled with gratitude to the great Head of the Church, for having raised up, and for so many years continued to us, one who, in appearance and character, in learning and in charity, in humility and devotion to his Master's cause, was so well qualified for the station in which he was placed, and to whom, under God, we are indebted for so much of the prosperity and increase with which we have been blessed."

The Rhode Island Convention of 1843 added eloquently: "Resolved that the prosperity of the Church within the limits of the Eastern Diocese may be ascribed mainly to the gracious influences which the life and character of our venerated Diocesan shed upon clergy and laity, and, through them, upon society at large; — to the scrupulous fidelity with which he performed all the duties of the Episcopal office; — to his extensive acquisitions in theological learning, consecrated as were these acquisitions to the highest service of God and man; — to the extraordinary ability with which he preached the Gospel of Jesus Christ — never erring, either through excess or defect, in his statements of scriptural truth — never severing faith from good works — never encouraging a treacherous hope — never leaving true penitence to suffer, without assurance of pardon, the agonies of a wounded spirit; — and, above all, to the daily beauty of his Christian life; — to the quiet and unostentatious diligence, with which he did whatsoever his hand found to do; and to that earnest yet chastened piety which was the habitat of his soul.

"Resolved, that we, the clergy and laity of the Diocese of Rhode Island, are not without special reasons for lamenting the departure from this life of our most excellent Diocesan, for here were passed many of the years alloted to his laborious and effective ministry; here his kind affections flowed out upon familiar and constant friends; and here he is freshly remembered by thousands, who loved to catch from his lips, now sealed forever, the accents of everlasting life."

CHAPTER V.

The Days of Bishop Eastburn

1843 - 1872

Manton Eastburn was born in Leeds, England, on February 9, 1801, becoming bishop of Massachusetts immediately after his forty-second birthday. He was the fourth bishop out of forty in the American Church to have been born outside the American Colonies in the British Empire.

Manton Eastburn came to America as a young man and received his training in the country of his adoption. He was an early student at the General Theological Seminary in New York. Unlike his classmate, George Washington Doane, later Bishop of New Jersey, Eastburn was a sturdy Evangelical, who clung to his views with bulldog tenacity. His Convention addresses are sprinkled not only with the characteristic phrases of Evangelical piety, but also with animadversions against "medieval mummeries" posing as true religion. His controversy with the rectors of the Church of the Advent in Boston is a part of American Church history. Since the Bishop refused to visit the parish unless candles, crosses and flowers were eliminated, and the solid altar was changed to a "Lord's Table," the various rectors had to take their candidates elsewhere for Confirmation. When one rector once apologized for the smallness of his class, the Bishop replied, whether seriously or jovially, that, considering the instruction received, the smaller the class the better. Bishop Eastburn never visited the Church of the Advent until a new canon of the General Church, apparently aimed at him, made an Episcopal visit once in three years mandatory. Even then, he took occasion to reprove the parish for its "Popish proclivities."

On another occasion, the Bishop visited the new low-church parish of Grace Church in Newton, where Peter Henry Steenstra, later to be the Biblical professor in the new Cambridge Seminary, was rector. He espied two vases of flowers put on the Lord's Table in honor of his visit. The Bishop immediately thought of an ingenious way inconspicuously to remove them. As he and the rector knelt to pray, each one took a vase to the floor with him. If Manton Eastburn could have foreseen the dangerous "rationalism" which the young rector was later to disseminate, one wonders whether he would have ordained him.

For a number of years, Manton Eastburn was rector of the Church of the Ascension in New York, a strongly Evangelical parish first of the older and then the newer variety. In 1842, he was elected rector of Trinity Church, Boston, and consecrated on December 29, 1842, as assistant and successor to Bishop Griswold. In six weeks he was bishop in his own right. Bishop Eastburn remained rector of Trinity until late 1868. An assistant, paid from the income of the "Greene Foundation," relieved him of much of the parish work, less heavy in those days than now. Episcopal visitations, in Eastburn's time, were made usually in the summer season, the number

of parishes, though steadily increasing, being much fewer than at present. Eastburn's successor at Trinity Church on Summer Street, now the heart of the Boston business district, was the young Phillips Brooks. Fortunately for the future of Trinity, the great fire of 1872 made it possible for the parish to move to its present Back Bay location, where mountains of fill, brought in by the Boston and Albany Railroad, had changed tidal waters to solid ground. Shortly before this, Emmanuel Church had begun its career on the new ground, nearer, however, to the old city.

II.

The episcopate of Manton Eastburn marks another milestone in the history of the Massachusetts Diocese. Although the ten-fold increase in communicants of the thirty-six years of Bishop Griswold was not repeated (400 to 4,000), nevertheless, a three-fold increase in numbers occured, a growth much larger than that of the population, despite the rapidly increasing number of Roman Catholics.

To be more specific: Communicants in 1848 were 4,635; in 1858, 7,702; in 1872, 11,551, with 11,108 in Sunday Schools. Contributions had reached the impressive total of $450,000 for parish expenses and $125,000 for extra-parochial giving, a better total, comparatively, than, say, the $4,760,000 of 1954, even when this is reinforced by the $1,411,000 of the western Diocese. The 11,551 Communicants of 1870 gave a per capita average of over $50 a year, when the dollar bought many times as much as today. In 1954, some 100,000 Communicants in the two dioceses contributed an average of about $60 each to the work of the Church, less considerable money from endowments. In other words, Episcopalians, in 1870, gave the equivalent of possibly $500 apiece in present day money. This would seem to indicate that Masachusetts Churchmen of ninety years ago, even allowing for taxes, were not only more generous than now, but had a higher proportion of the higher incomes.

In the twenty years from 1850 to 1870, the proportion of Episcopalians to Massachusetts population rose from 1 in 128 to 1 in 103. In the country as a whole, the rise was from 1 in 235 to 1 in 166. From 1870 to 1910, Massachusetts, like the rest of New England, grew churchwise faster than the population, despite enormous Roman increase. While the national average in 1950 was 1 communicant in 92, the New England average is less than half of that.

Where and how did the phenomenal growth of the Church in the Eastburn episcopate take place? More by the emergence of new parishes than by increase in the older ones. Thus the eight Boston parishes of 1843 had 1,701 communicants between them. In 1870, they had only 1,755. On the other hand, the establishment of six more in the enlarged Boston area account for 1,900 additional com-

municants, the total city rise being from 1,701 to 3,697. A new parish in the old area, the Church of the Advent, now St. John the Evangelist, was the largest in the city, with 650 communicants. This parish had no pew rents; other parishes gathered mostly those who could and would buy or rent pews.

The second largest new parish was Emmanuel Church on Newbury Street, near the east edge of the newly-filled Back Bay. It counted 500 Communicants. Its rector was Frederic Dan Huntington, former Unitarian, and professor and chaplain at Harvard. Huntington, like William Ellery Channing, was a Biblical Unitarian. He did not read Calvinism into the New Testament nor reject the divinity of Christ. Following the New Testament texts, he made the Son subordinate to the Father. But when the second phase of the Unitarian movement came along, with its creed of "The Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man and the Leadership of Jesus Christ," he resigned his Harvard post and sought refuge, like the parents of Phillips Brooks and others, in the Episcopal Church. In 1870, however, cultured Boston was still chiefly Unitarian. One of the accomplishments of Phillips Brooks was to make it much less so. After some years at Emmanuel, Huntington was for thirty-five years bishop of Central New York (1869-1904).

Other new parishes and their communicants were St. Mark's (300) and St. Mary's (234), in Dorchester, St. Mary's for Sailors (138) and the Church of the Messiah in the south end, later to move to the expanding Back Bay near Symphony Hall. These last two parishes are now no more, and the Dorchester parishes have declined over the years.

When we turn to the older parishes outside of Boston, we find only a limited growth. Christ Church, Quincy, advanced from the 70 of 1843 to the 174 of 1870. St. Paul's, Dedham, rose from 40 to 184 under the long rectorship of Samuel B. Babcock. The other parishes of the South Shore remained more or less static.

Along the North Shore gains likewise were small. St. Paul's, Newburyport, rose from 112 to 180, St. Peter's, Salem, fell from 142 to only 100, though a new parish in the town had appeared, Grace Church, with 137 Communicants. St. Michael's, Marblehead, had declined from 100 to 80. St. James, Amesbury advanced from 24 to 80, and St. Luke's, Chelsea, from 39 to 152, and St. Stephen's, Lynn, from 30 to 127. This parish, named originally Christ Church, had lost its first building by a mortgage foreclosure and had reorganized as St. Stephen's. Heavy Canadian immigration and industrialization were to lift the parish eventually into the 2,000-communicant class.

Turning to the area west of Boston, we find that old Christ Church, Cambridge, in the long rectorship of Nicholas Hoppin, had grown from 43 Communicants to 178, and new St. Peter's, a mile and a half down Massachusetts Avenue toward Boston from

Harvard Square, from 15 to 212. Recently also, a new parish, St. James, with 52 Communicants, had been established among the gardens and pastures of North Cambridge. St. John's, the new chapel of the Episcopal Theological School on Brattle Street had become a quasi-parish, ministering to students and to some 60 local Communicants. Its Dean was John Seely Stone, who, thirty years previous, had been rector of St. Paul's, Boston.

St. John's, Charlestown, had climbed from 105 Communicants to 363, with 278 in Sunday School. Later, Philo W. Sprague and Walcott Cutler were to have long and socially-minded ministries in that section of Boston. In 1957, St. John's had only 82 Communicants.

St. Mary's, Newton Lower Falls, still remained a static parish, the 126 Communicants of 1843 rising to only 151 in 1870. However, a new parish, Grace Church, Newton Center, with 102 Communicants had appeared in this suburb of Boston. Newton, now a city of 80,000 has eight Episcopal parishes, with 4,400 Communicants, or 1 in 18 of the population.

To the southeast of Boston, the Church had suffered a decline. St. Andrew's, Hanover, had fallen from 129 to 70, little Marshfield had temporarily disappeared, and Trinity, Bridgewater, had sagged from 59 to 27. All three parishes were to have a great growth in the last generation, as did also colonial Christ Church, Quincy.

In Bristol County, the older parishes were expanding, thanks to the textile boom, though new ones were still mostly in the future. Old St. Thomas, Taunton, had raised its membership from 107 to 219. A new little parish of 38 Communicants, St. John's had appeared in the north of the city. Today, with a local population of 40,000, these two parishes count 830 Communicants between them, holding close to the diocesan average of 1 Episcopalian Communicant to 43 people. Grace Church, New Bedford, had doubled its membership from 100 to 212. The Church of the Ascension in Fall River, had climbed from 77 to 161, with a Sunday School of 337, big with promise for the future.

In Worcester County, significant changes had occurred. In 1843, only the mill-village parishes at Wilkinsonville and Rochdale upheld the Episcopal banner. In 1870, they were still small, with 53 and 42 Communicants apiece. On the other hand, All Saints Church, with 260 Communicants and 288 in Sunday School, had arisen in growing Worcester. Its rector was the young William R. Huntington, one of the rising Broad Churchmen of the day, who was later to become the rector of Grace Church in New York, and "the first presbyter of the American Church." Huntington, before he left Worcester, had given the impetus to the founding of four of the five other parishes of the city. The fifth, St. Michael's in the north end, arose about 1930. Worcester is now a city of 201,000

people. Its 3,800 Episcopal Communicants are only 1 in 53 of its population, reflecting the late entrance of the Episcopal Church into Central Massachusetts.

New parishes in this central area were Trinity, Milford, and St. John's, Millville. The first now has 325 Communicants and the second about 100, a number maintained, on the average, for over a century. Milford remained small, until the development of the Draper Textile Machinery Works in neighboring Hopedale, after 1870, brought new people.

Christ Church, Fitchburg, also sprang up in this area. Cotton mills and later woolen mills arising by the banks of the swift-flowing Nashua river gave the town its industrial start. These now have nearly all gone, but several large paper mills remain and diversified small industry has taken the place of cotton. In 1870, Christ Church counted only 100 Communicants. In 1957, they numbered 1,107. Christ Church, with its daughter parish, the Church of the Good Shepherd in West Fitchburg, accounts for 1 in 34 of the 42,000 people of the city. Episcopalians are stronger numerically in Fitchburg than in any other important place in the diocese of Western Massachusetts.

Farther west in the State, we may note significant increases in communicant strength — in Springfield, 83 to 255; in Northampton, 40 to 83; in Greenfield 65 to 119; in Great Barrington, 82 to 122; in Stockbridge from 21 to 55; in Pittsfield from 66 to 125. The other older parishes, like Lanesborough, Ashfield, Otis and Van Deusenville had either remained static or declined. Lenox was to have a future with a later numerical decline. New York visitors and near-by proximity to industrial Pittsfield account for its 185 communicants of today. The growth of the Episcopal Church in western Massachusetts, as elsewhere, came chiefly with the growth of cities.

The greatest increase in the number of new churches in the Eastburn episcopate took place in the near vicinity of Boston. Beside the half-dozen already mentioned, we may list a score more.

Somerville, now a city of 102,000 people, in 1870, was still largely rural. The beginnings of the Episcopal Church there were facilitated by the migration of many people from New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. In 1870, the Church had two parishes, Emmanuel, on a hill near the Cambridge line, and St. Thomas on Union Square. Emmanuel Church had 64 communicants in 1870, and 59 in 1957, although numbers have been much higher in the intervening eighty years. St. Thomas Church had 110 communicants in 1870, and 208 in 1957, although the parish has reported as many as 400 in the past. New parishes since the Eastburn era are Christ Church on the Fellsway, with 262 communicants, the only one to grow over the years, and St. James on Clarendon Hill, which in 1957 listed 213 communicants, a considerable

decline over the last forty years. Somerville's 842 communicants of 1957 are not even 1 in 110 of the city's population. Here, as in Charlestown, the steady march of the sons of Rome has been marked by the slow retreat of the sons of Canterbury.

The year 1870 saw new parishes in Malden (42 communicants), Medford (93), Milford (48), Millville (108), Amherst (77), Brighton (50), and St. Paul's, Brookline (85). Amos A. Lawrence and William R. Lawrence, the father and uncle of the future bishop, William Lawrence, attended here and later William R. Lawrence built a chapel near their estates, now known as the Church of Our Saviour, Longwood. For years, St. Paul's, Brookline, remained small. Later, All Saints, Brookline, where Dudley Dulaney Addison was rector for a generation, came into being.

To illustrate Church growth in the areas immediately beyond Boston, twelve parishes, describing an arc from Waltham through Wrentham, Woods Hole and Weymouth had in 1870, between them, 488 communicants; in 1950, 4,706, with large increase since.

Other new parishes in the Boston area were: Calvary, Danvers (70) ; St. John's, Gloucester, (42) ; St. John's, Framingham; Trinity, Haverhill, (170) ; the Redeemer, Holliston (25), now revived; Christ Church, Hyde Park (78) ; Grace Church and St. John's, Lawrence, with 165 and 84 communicants. Lawrence was then already heading to be the chief seat of woolen manufacturing in the country. English immigrants from Yorkshire rather than Lancashire were to swell Episcopal numbers.

A tripling of communicants, a doubling of parishes and clergy, and an even larger financial expansion were the marks of the Eastburn episcopate. A theological change was also in the air. The Griswold administration marked the steady advance of the old Evangelicals in New England — an advance that continued for sometime in the days of Bishop Eastburn. With his death in 1872, the Evangelical tide had definitely turned, at least in the north. Bishop Charles P. McIlvaine of Ohio passed away shortly before Eastburn. Bishop Burgess of Maine had died in 1866. By 1870, Bishop Thomas M. Clark, like Phillips Brooks, was proclaiming the new Evangelicalism instead of the old. The last two Presiding Bishops of the old Evangelical persuasion, Benjamin B. Smith of Kentucky (1868-84) and Alfred Lee of Delaware (1884-87) were shortly to pass on. Stephen H. Tyng, possibly the chief of the many powerful preachers of the Movement, resigned his enormous parish of St. George's, New York, in 1878. Bishop Eastburn's passing was the prophecy of the gradual end of the old Evangelicalism, with its key doctrine that salvation by faith meant emotional conversion.

Bishop Eastburn seems to have been aware that the theological currents of the day were not running in what he deemed the right direction. His head-on encounter with the stubborn Anglo-Catholicism of the parish of the Advent in Boston we have already

mentioned. Many of his theological remarks in his Convention Addresses would seem to be aimed at what he considered to be rationalistic and un-Scriptural ideas on the doctrine of the Atonement. The Atonement was substitutionary; Christ was punished for us.

In the Bishop's 1870 Convention Address, we have the gist of his theology: "Preach with fullness and preach with distinctness, such as none can mistake, the justification of the sinner through the righteousness of Christ, dying on the Cross as our Substitute and Surety, this is a revelation made to us. And yet this fundamental truth of the Atonement is now, by a certain school, explained away, the precise method by which Christ saves us is covered up in a dreary mist; our guilt and tribulation through sin are lightly touched, or kept out of sight; divine love is put prominently forward to the detriment of divine justice; and by representations as illogical as they are unscriptural, the people are taught, not in the way pointed out by our formularies, and by the Bible, that we are benefited by the Redeemer's sufferings and death. My brethren, let there be no vagueness on this point, as we would avoid bloodguiltiness before God. Now this doctrine of our deliverance from wrath for the sake of the everlasting satisfaction made by the everlasting Son of God is the distinctly expressed doctrine of our Articles, our liturgy, and all our standards; and in no part of the Prayer Book more clearly than in our Communion Office."

Bishop Eastburn could hardly have suspected that one of his young clergy, Alexander Viets Griswold Allen, professor in the Cambridge Episcopal Theological School, was even then coming to conclusions later to be published in a notable book, "The Continuity of Christian Thought," in which he sharply distinguished between the theology of the Greek Fathers and Latin theology as permeated by St. Augustine's doctrine of the total depravity of man, a doctrine to be the fundamental tenet later of John Calvin and Martin Luther. Another young clergyman, Phillips Brooks, was even then preaching that the main purpose of the Incarnation was not to find the penal substitute for human sin, but rather to bring light and life to the sons of men. In brief, Greek theology and the Greek liturgies have revolved around the Incarnation, Romanism and classic Protestantism around the Atonement; the new preaching followed the Greeks.

The attempts to elect a new bishop after Eastburn's death make clear enough that the Diocese, though it respected and loved its bishop, did not want another like him. The voting, undoubtedly, would have seemed to Eastburn like the deliverance of his darling diocese to the power of the dog. For, in two Conventions, the eminent Evangelical rector of Emmanuel Church, Boston, Alexander H. Vinton, was unable to secure more than a third of the clerical and parochial votes. Worse still, an incipient "rationalist" like Henry Codman Potter, later to be bishop in New York, had a sizable following, and worst of all, James DeKoven, the noted Anglo-

Catholic of Wisconsin, in two Conventions, had also a third of the votes both clerical and lay. Inasmuch as there were only a handful of Anglo-Catholic clergy in the Diocese, it is evident that the old-time Churchmen, averse to the "radicalism" of the Evangelicals, old and new, preferred the new ritualistic radicalism of the orator from Racine. As a result, Benjamin Henry Paddock, rector of Christ Church, Brooklyn, emerged as the compromise choice. In the sixteen years of the Paddock episcopate, new movements were to emerge in force. After Paddock, the Bishops of Massachusetts have all been leaders of Evangelical Liberalism, Phillips Brooks, William Lawrence, Charles L. Slattery, Henry K. Sherrill, Norman B. Nash and Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr. At the same time, in or soon after the Paddock period, five Massachusetts Anglo-Catholics were to go forth as bishops, Edward Osborne to Springfield, Charles C. Grafton to Fond du Lac, Arthur C. A. Hall to Vermont, Robert Codman to Maine and Charles H. Brent to the Phillipines. The last was to become the great spiritual leader of a newer Catholicism; Hall and Codman were to remake their dioceses after their own image. Thus, with the deaths of Burgess in Maine (1866), Brownell in Connecticut (1865), Hopkins in Vermont (1867), Carlton Chase in New Hampshire (1870), of Eastburn in Massachusetts (1872), the Church all over New England was moving to new ground. In Connecticut and New Hampshire only, the old high Churchmanship lingered on somewhat longer.

That the Diocese both loved and respected its bishop is clear enough from a memorial resolution passed by the Convention of 1873. Thus we read: "During his episcopate our late Diocesan occupied a position of peculiar prominence in the Church and in the Community. Holding, with remarkable clearness and simplicity the doctrine of Justification by Faith, we seem, as we think of him, to hear the words, 'In whom we have redemption through his Blood, the forgiveness of sins;' 'This is His Name, whereby He shall be called the Lord our Righteousness,' was the burden of his preaching, as it was the joy and comfort of his daily life; and no testimony, we are assured, would be so grateful to him as that which all must bear, that 'in the temple and in every hour' he 'ceased not to teach and to preach Jesus Christ'."

"As a Churchman he loved the Church with true filial affection. The Prayer Book, in his estimation, was incomparable, was in thorough accord with the Word of God, and adapted to all estates and conditions of men; and he gave an emphatic 'No' to every proposition for its alteration.

"As a Bishop in the administration of the Diocese, as in all things else, he was faithful to his convictions of duty, and though often opposed, his thorough honesty of purpose and his brave, manly adherence to what he believed to be right and true, won for him the respect of his opponents.

"Honored by the members of his own Communion, he was equally honored by his fellow Christians of other bodies for his talents, sound learning, fine general scholarship and admirable personal character; while those whose privilege it was to know him intimately loved him for the general, kindly spirit which made him the courteous, hospitable, Christian gentleman, the warmhearted, steadfast friend."

"Liberal in his gifts, and loving to give according to his ability and opportunity, the Church in this Diocese is witness to his benefactions, and many a poor man will rise up and call him blessed."

"We affectionately cherish his memory, and commend the holiness of his life as an example to all to follow."

CHAPTER VI.

The Episcopate of

Benjamin Henry Paddock

1873 - 1891

I.

Bishop Eastburn passed to his rest on September 11, 1872, after an active summer of Episcopal visitations. Immediately thereupon, the Standing Committee of the Diocese took steps to increase the Episcopal Endowment Fund by $50,000, thus raising the income eventually to $6,000 a year. This was done mainly by assessments on the parishes.

The Standing Committee also called a special Convention for the election of a new bishop, to be held on December 4 in old Trinity Church on Summer Street, Boston. The disastrous Boston fire of November 9, which totally consumed old Trinity, caused the election to be transferred to St. Paul's Church.

When the Convention met, it was evident that the ecclesiastical climate of the Diocese had greatly changed. The leading Evangelical candidate, Dr. Alexander H. Vinton of Emmanuel Church, Boston, was not able, in three ballots, to get a majority in either the clerical or the lay Order. Dr. Benjamin I. Haight, a New York rector and professor in the General Seminary, an old-time high Churchman, was, on the third ballot, elected by a majority of one (43 out of 82) among the clergy, and by a majority of one parish in the lay vote. Dr. Vinton received 36 clerical votes. This election Dr. Haight declined.

Thereupon, the Standing Committee, because of the "sharp division of opinion in the Diocese," decided on a cooling-off period, and remanded the Episcopal election to the regular meeting of Convention in May. This time the two leading names were those of Dr. Benjamin H. Paddock, rector of Grace Church, Brooklyn, and once more Dr. James De Koven, Warden of Racine College, Wisconsin, the leading Anglo-Catholic of the time. Dr. De Koven was a consummate orator and Parliamentarian, who twice saved the Catholic party from condemnation at General Convention by appealing to the comprehensive character of the Anglican Communion. Ironically, though Dr. De Koven obtained once a third of both clerical and parochial votes in Massachusetts, his later election to the Diocese of Illinois was negatived by a majority of the Standing Committees of the Church including that of Massachusetts. On May 15, 1873, Dr. Paddock was elected Bishop on the third ballot, with 52 clerical votes, three more than a majority, and by 45 parishes out of 80.

II.

Benjamin Henry Paddock was born in Norwich, Connecticut, on February 29, 1828, and graduated from Trinity College, Hartford. He remained more or less a Connecticut Churchman to the end of his days. His main parochial cure was the rectorship of the then great parish of Christ Church, Brooklyn, New York, in which post he attained the national prominence which led to his election to what had become, then as it is now, the third largest Episcopal diocese in the country. He was consecrated fifth Bishop of Massachusetts on September 17, 1873, at the age of forty-five.

III.

Three things stand out in the eighteen-year episcopate of Bishop Paddock. The first is the change in the ecclesiastical climate of the diocese, and that in a double direction. Massachusetts, particularly Boston, was to become a citadel both of Anglo-Catholicism and of the new Broad Churchmanship, of which Phillips Brooks was the outstanding representative.

Bishop Paddock, as can easily be gleaned from his Convention addresses, was between the old and the new. He was an old-fashioned High Churchman, yet one who was aware that new vistas were opening out in the Church, both in ceremonial and Biblical knowledge. He was a strong Prayer Book Churchman, opposed to the introduction from the Roman missal of such things as the Benedictus Qui Venit and the Agnus Dei. The Anglo-Catholic practice of presenting very young children for Confirmation he considered highly undesirable. He remarked in one Convention address that he had confirmed such immature candidates rather than humiliate them by open rejection at the altar rail.

Shortly before Paddock's election, the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge had opened its doors. Two of the early professors were to be pioneers of the new theological learning. P. H. Steenstra's work was to recover the Bible for the modern student, and A. V. G. Allen's to bring in Greek theology in place of the Latin Augustinianism which Luther and Calvin had perpetuated and aggravated, and which was the special inheritance, with its doctrine of total human depravity and worthlessness, of the old Evangelical. Bishop Charles L. Slattery's biography of Allen brings out interestingly the struggle which went on in Allen's mind as it revolted against the narrow Evangelical outlook of Kenyon College.

Three obituary eulogies given by Bishop Paddock in his Convention addresses are also of interest. Speaking of Alexander H. Vinton, rector for many years of both St. Paul's and Emmanuel Church in Boston, he remarked in his 1881 address: "Only just now an eminent presbyter has fallen, who was one of us always in heart, but not canonically so at the last. Dr. Alexander H. Vinton has been so largely identified with this diocese during much of his life, that his loss is as much felt as if he were our own presbyter. He was a great, scholarly, and godly man; large-minded and great-hearted, and when aroused to its utmost his intellect showed its massive strength, and his eloquence became a thing of grandeur. Are we raising enough ministers like him, — great as well as good in the greatest and best of human callings?"

Bishop Paddock was somewhat irked by the fact that the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge was governed by a body of self-perpetuating lay trustees, and that the bishop of the diocese had no control over it. He usually sent his candidates elsewhere. Nevertheless, the presence of John Seely Stone as its dean might

well have reconciled him somewhat to this absence of episcopal authority. Speaking of Stone in his 1882 address, the bishop remarked: "The Rev. John Seely Stone, D.D., Emeritus Dean of the Episcopal Theological School, died at Cambridge, within the precincts of the School, on January 12 of the present year, nearly eighty-seven years of age. What a period in the history of the Church and of the nation those years span! When he was born (1795), this national Church had been organized only six years, and had four bishops and about two hundred clergy, instead of the sixty-five bishops and thirty-four hundred clergy of the present year. When he was a strong youth of nineteen, he was gaining his first sight of Boston, as an enlisted soldier from his native Berkshire, marching hither in 1814 for the defense of Boston against the possible attack by the troops of King George the Third. In 1826 — before a good many of us who are not young were born — he was an ordained minister of this Church. From that time almost to this, he set forth the Gospel of Christ with a charm and a power rarely surpassed; and he lived as he preached all those years. Fifteen years ago he was elected Dean of the new Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge; and that institution owes much of its present vigor and success to his controlling influence. At four-score he withdrew from this responsible and arduous office, and rested, waiting upon God."

Bishop Paddock's cautious welcome to the new learning is exemplified in his tribute to John Cotton Smith, a pioneer of the broad church movement, (1882): "Dr. John Cotton Smith, learned and godly; fearless and gentle; large-hearted and broad-minded; master of the new learning, but loyal to evangelical truth as distinguished from rationalistic or materialistic speculations and criticism; a Christian philosopher whose profound and clear thinking helped to strip respectability and influence from the superficial and conceited originality and great swelling words of some who are ever declaring how grievously thinkers are oppressed by the narrowness of the 'faith once delivered' and are striving mightily to stretch the limits of allowed belief until all their discoveries of stale old heresies concerning the inspiration of the Word of God, the Atoning Sacrifice, the value of Miracles and Prophecy, the Sacraments, and the final Doom of wilful sinners, shall find room and appreciative welcome. John Cotton Smith, the admirable scholar, preacher, pastor, was well-nigh one of our diocesan family. The beautiful Ascension Church, Ipswich, . . . is largely his work, and many hundreds of dollars were his personal gift."

The list of graduates of the Episcopal Theological School as they came forth in Bishop Paddock's day is another indication of the trend. To mention just a few of the Broad Churchmen who were to shed their influence far and near: William Lawrence, the future bishop; Theodosius S. Tyng and Edmund R. Woodman, who introduced the new ideas to the Japanese Church; Endicott Peabody and Sherrard Billings, the famous pair who founded Groton School;

Louis De Cormis, rector of St. Stephen's, Lynn, when Enoch R. Mudge built its beautiful church in memory of his children; Henry Sylvester Nash, the brilliant preacher and New Testament professor at the Episcopal Theological School; Julius W. Attwood, later bishop of Arizona, and John W. Suter, Sr., the well-known liturgist and custodian of the Standard Copy of the Prayer Book, as is now his son, John W. Jr., of New Hampshire. And to mention only one more out of others, Charles Morris Addison. Massachusetts was moving to a position of leadership in two widely contrasting new movements, Anglo-Catholicism and Broad Churchmanship. The solitary episcopal representative of Broad Churchmanship before that day was Thomas March Clark, Bishop of Rhode Island, also for some years a presbyter of the diocese.

Theological change was one mark of the Paddock episcopate. A second was a great development in organization and institutions, educational, charitable and missionary. Many of these which now adorn the Diocese of Massachusetts arose in his time, notably Groton School, soon to rival the older St. Mark's. Bishop Paddock's dream of a girls' school to parallel these institutions for boys has not yet come to fruition. Connecticut, with St. Margaret's, Waterbury; Vermont, with the Bishop Hopkins School for Girls, and New Hampshire, with St. Mary's, in this respect outpace New England's largest diocese. A diocesan center, which Bishop Paddock often wished for, came after his death in the commodious building at 1 Joy Street, Boston.

A third feature of the Paddock episcopate was the tremendous growth of the diocese numerically, in clergy, new church buildings, in parishes and communicants. The 11,500 communicants of the last year of Bishop Eastburn had become about 30,000 by 1891, the date of Bishop Paddock's death. This growth, in eighteen years, exceeded by a little the tripling of communicants in Bishop Eastburn's time, although it did not equal the ten-fold increase of the Griswold episcopate. In all three administrations, English immigration played a large part in church growth. The second constant factor was the presence of the Episcopal Church as a city of refuge for those who had fled from either the reactionary or the liberal movements in contemporary Protestantism. Indeed, in the Paddock era, this turning to the Church was more acute than at any time since the 1830's, when Thomas M. Clark abandoned Calvinism and the parents of Phillips Brooks took refuge from Unitarianism in the warm evangelical atmosphere of Dr. Alexander Vinton's first Massachusetts parish, St. Paul's, Boston. In Paddock's time, the Church of the Advent in Boston welcomed those who sought a substitute for lost Scriptural inerrancy in the Anglo-Catholic doctrine of the infallible Church. Those who still clung to the old Protestant doctrine of individual experience of Christ found new vistas and new faith in the Christology of Phillips Brooks, who brought many a strong layman and many a clerical candidate into the Church.

Bishop Paddock was an able administrator and preacher. His Convention addresses give some idea of his preaching in their felicity of expression and their reminiscence of the Old Evangelical oratory, with its mastery of the rolling phrases of Holy Writ. He was a hard worker, making an average of 150 episcopal visitations a year in a diocese of large dimensions, besides attending numerous meetings and carrying on the endless interviews and administrative work connected with the office of a bishop.

Bishop Paddock died on March 9, 1891, when barely sixty-three years of age. He had been a hard worker through all his episcopate, with scarcely a vacation, except for a single trip to Europe. The lengthening cares of his office undoubtedly contributed to the shortening of his life. It was slowly becoming evident that the Diocese of Massachusetts was too large for one man. But it took the tragedy of the Brooks episcopate, cut short by premature death, to force the lesson home.

When Bishop Paddock had gone, it became almost a foregone conclusion that Phillips Brooks, for twenty years now the master preacher of New England, should be his successor. He was elected with only minor opposition locally. Confirmation of the election by bishops and Standing Committees, with opposition stemming chiefly from his known attitude on Apostolic Succession (the only Apostolic Succession worth considering, he once remarked, was the Apostolic Succession of the Holy Spirit), was for a moment in question. But high Churchmen, like Doane of Albany, and others rallied to his support. Arthur C. Hall, the Cowley Father member of the Massachusetts Standing Committee, the future Bishop of Vermont, was recalled to England by his Superiors for voting for confirmation of the election, and a protest was read by two Anglo-Catholic priests before the Consecration ceremony.

Bishop William Lawrence, Brooks' successor, used to tell the following story. The day after the Brooks election he was walking through the Harvard Yard, when he met the Unitarian President of the University, Charles W. Eliot. Eliot remarked to him that he thought it a tragic mistake to take Brooks from his great pulpit and to make him a bishop. A bishop's chief job was to run around and confirm people. A couple of years later, when Lawrence himself had just been elected, he met Eliot again in the Yard. Eliot congratulated him, remarking that he was just the man for the job!

CHAPTER VII.

The Episcopate of

Phillips Brooks

1891 - 1893

"This was the time of religious fervor well remembered by those of us who in schools and rectories and family pews watched and listened and took heed. The figures of Bishop Clark (of Rhode Island) and Phillips Brooks and others stirred vast congregations by their eloquence. The immediate result was electric, illuminating for a moment or for a lifetime, the souls of individuals and releasing spiritual currents in the multitudes who felt the irresistible contagion" Thus wrote James DeWolf Perry, at the end of thirty-five years in the episcopate of Rhode Island, as he recalled the days of his youth near the end of what we may call the Brooks era.

Phillips Brooks had a notable ancestry, ecclesiastical and civil, on both his father's and his mother's side. His earliest New England forbear, the Rev. George Phillips, came to Salem with Governor Winthrop. He was a Cambridge University graduate, ordained in the Church of England, who threw in his lot with the Puritans and died at only fifty-one. Wrote Winthrop in his journal: "He was a godly man, specially gifted, and very peaceful in his place, much lamented by his own people and others." George Phillips' grandson, Samuel, a man of energy and individuality, filled the pulpit of the South Church in Andover for sixty-two years. He was a preacher of power, who stood steadfast by the old Calvinistic orthodoxy, though maintaining friendly relations "with the neighboring clergy of a looser and more dangerous creed."

Samuel's grandson, also named Samuel, amassed wealth. His son, Judge Phillips, was a public figure of great distinction in the State. He it was who started Phillips Academy of Andover and the Andover Theological Seminary on their long careers. Into these foundations the wealth of the Phillips family, both male and female, was poured. Judge Phillips' granddaughter, Mary Ann, was the mother of Phillips Brooks.

The Brooks family of Medford, rich farmers and merchants, were the ancestors of Phillips Brooks on his father's side. A notable ecclesiastical forbear was the Rev. John Cotton. Phillips Brooks' great uncle, Peter Chardon Brooks, was reputedly the wealthiest man in New England. Phillips' own father, William Gray Brooks, came to Boston from Portland, Maine, to enter into the hardware business in Boston. He was a prosperous man in a small way. It was at the house of his uncle Peter in Medford that he met and won Mary Ann Phillips, marrying her in 1833.

According to Bishop William Lawrence, who knew both parents, Mary Ann was a girl of intense religious convictions who, later on, watched with pride and some anxiety the career of her great son. William Brooks, though never rich, "was a substantial citizen, courteous after the old manner, of a deep pleasant voice, well-read and of excellent judgemnt. . . . Mrs. Brooks, alert in body and mind, commanded the household by her evident force of character." Phillips Brooks was thus made in the image of his ancestors. Three

younger brothers, John Cotton, Frederic and Arthur, also entered the Episcopal ministry and were rectors and preachers of distinction. "From their ancestry through their mother, these men were filled with an enthusiasm to preach the Gospel; in them were emotion, idealism, mysticism and strong character, typical of the settlers of New England."*

The Brooks family originally attended the Unitarian services of a relative, Dr. N. L. Frothingham. It was not a religious environment to make Mrs. Brooks happy, and gradually Mr. Brooks grew tired of the cold intellectualism and increasing radicalism of his cousin's sermons. So the couple decided to try elsewhere. But orthodox Congregationalism, driven by the new Unitarianism into ever more reactionary positions, was not for them. "Neither the Old South, nor the Park Street Meeting House had the vital spark that Mrs. Brooks looked for. In St. Paul's Episcopal Church on Tremont Street they found a service which was somewhat unfamiliar and stately and to Mr. Brooks irksome at first; but the preaching of the Rev. Dr. Stone was evangelical and practical. Hence, in pew number sixty, enclosed on all sides, between Mrs. Brooks at one end and Mr. Brooks at the door, six boys sat, stood, or slouched — kneeling was impossible in those ancient pews."

Brooks entered Harvard in 1851 at the age of fifteen. Longfellow, Agassiz, Asa Gray and Benjamin Pierce were the great luminaries of what was still a small college. But the ordinary undergraduate saw little of them. Child in English, Lane in Latin and Cooke in Chemistry, all great names later on, were the real teachers. James Walker, the President, was a man of wisdom and influence among the students. Phillips Brooks, in his first great grief, his failure as a school teacher, went immediately to see him.

Phillips had no special interest in college marks, but read privately over a wide range of the ancient and English classics. Though he graduated only the tenth in a class of seventy, both instructors and fellow students were struck by the thoughtfulness and literary style of his oral and written exercises. As one reads through the numerous excerpts from this period which A. V. G. Allen has gathered into his monumental biography of Brooks, one can hardly fail to see the lineaments of future greatness.

After graduation, Brooks undertook a mastership in the Boston Latin School, then under the strict rule and ferule of "Old Man Gardiner." Teaching a class of boys not much younger than himself, a class which had already sent three masters to the wall, turned out to be a humiliating failure. Gardiner added one bitter parting word of scorn — a man who failed at school teaching would never be good at anything.

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* Wm. Lawrence, Phillips Brooks, p. 7.

By January after graduation, Brooks went home to read and to ruminate for the next eight months. He thought again of the Ministry, in which idea President Walker, his own father and his rector, Dr. Alexander H. Vinton, all encouraged him. Yet he felt that he had moved away from the old Evangelical piety of his rector and his mother. Also, he noticed how clergymen avoided what seemed to him the acute moral issue of slavery; he wondered whether he could preach as he felt and believed, and still remain in the Ministry.

The decision was, finally, quickly made. The only remaining question was to which Seminary he should go. Harvard Divinity School, by then, was hopelessly Unitarian, Andover Seminary was too near home, and the General Theological Seminary at New York was not one which his rector would recommend. So the decision was to go to the only other Church Seminary then in the East, the Seminary at Alexandria, Virginia.

Brooks found the physical appearance of the Seminary on the Hill even more depressing than the intellectual. Dr. Sparrow, out of the whole faculty, was the only one who seemed to have real learning and a vital mind. However, Brooks found the social and religious atmosphere of the Seminary warm and friendly. His room-mate in a "miserable garret," with a bed too small for his huge frame, turned out to be Henry Codman Potter, son of the Bishop of New York, and himself later to hold the same office. The first two Broad Church bishops of the Episcopal Church (after Thomas March Clark of Rhode Island) met in the Seminary garret. Brooks received his first Communion at Christmas of his first year, when his mother visited him in Washington. He was not confirmed until the next vacation.

Brooks graduated in 1859 at twenty-three, and was ordained deacon by Bishop Meade of Virginia and accepted immediately a call to the Church of the Advent in Philadelphia. Then began the first of his three notable parochial ministries. He soon became known as one of the leading preachers of the city and one of its leading patriots. "Endowed by inheritance with a rich religious character, evangelical tradition, ethical temper and strong intellect, he developed, by wide reading in ancient and modern literature, a personality and attitude of mind which appealed to the characteristic thought and life of the period. With Tennyson, Coleridge, Frederic D. Maurice and F. W. Robertson (all Englishmen of a conservatively liberal outlook) he was in strong sympathy. During the War he upheld with power the cause of the North and the Negro, and his sermon on the death of President Lincoln was an eloquent expression of the character of both men."

Brooks' stay at the Church of the Advent was short. For, after only three years, the great parish of Holy Trinity lured him away, for the next seven years. At the end of ten years, he was re-called to his native Boston.

In 1868, Bishop Eastburn, after twenty-six years of rectorship at Trinity Church, found the endowments of the Diocese sufficient to enable him to devote himself exclusively to his rapidly growing Episcopal duties. At the age of thirty-four, Brooks became his successor, in a Boston religious climate with which he was uniquely fitted to cope. In 1870, cultured Boston was almost entirely Unitarian. In 1890, the story was far otherwise.

Trinity parish, in 1869, had a gloomy stone church building on Summer Street. Even then the area was ceasing to be a residential neighborhood. Nevertheless, Brooks' Sunday sermons and his weekly religious lectures filled the old Church, much to the annoyance of the Sexton, who contrived in vain all sorts of little artifices to discourage the crowds. Brooks began to think of a bigger church in a better location. The great fire of 1872 providentially opened the way. Brooks and his sexton watched together as the flames gutted the old structure.

The immediate problem was the double one of finding a permanent location for a new building and a temporary abiding place. The permanent location chosen was in what is now Copley Square but then a sandy stretch of recently filled-in land. There, after five years, the present church, designed by H. H. Richardson, came into being. The temporary location was the forbidding atmosphere of Huntington Hall, reached only by a long flight of stairs. There, enormous congregations worshipped twice a Sunday. When the new building was erected, Trinity Church became perhaps the chief religious center of New England.

A notable picture of the Brooks era and its spiritual anxieties is given by Bishop Lawrence in his autobiography entitled "Fifty Years," a book published at the time of his thirtieth anniversary in the episcopate of Massachusetts.

"I can now hear the voice of Phillips Brooks as he pleaded with his people for a return to St. Paul's teaching, 'Whom ye ignorantly worship, Him I declare unto you.' Revolting against the doctrine of total depravity, he drove home again and again the truth that, while of course all children inherit character and taints of evil, myriads of children are not born to be damned. With all the eloquence at his command he repeated again and again that every child is a child of God; and that the Church, knowing this, calls all to baptism, the symbol of God's recognition, the gate whereby each child as he grows older has the assurance that he has been brought visibly into God's family. His words fell like refreshing rain upon a thirsty field, and the faith and joy of the congregation rose to meet them."

Puritan theology had so elevated the divinity of Christ as to make his manhood unreal. The unevitable reaction was the Unitarian movement which, in its second phase, made Christ only a superman. It was the work of Phillips Brooks to reclaim the divinity of Christ as against the Unitarian, and to proclaim His full humanity as against the Puritan and old Evangelical theology. Christ came to earth, not chiefly to be punished for human sin, but to give light and life to the children of men.

As to the new beliefs about the Bible, says the Bishop, "How well I recall the voice and flashing eye of Phillips Brooks as, standing by the lecture pulpit in Huntington Hall, he lifted the people to such a spiritual conception of the inspiration of the Old Testament as to enable them to see how God, assuming the freedom of man's will to do evil or good, had potentially led them up through childhood and savagery until they could begin to appreciate the glory of His purity, truth and love, as revealed in the incarnation of His Son. Facts, interpretations, truths, errors shook themselves into right perspectives." "In the experiences through which my generation passed, young men found themselves changing the emphasis and perspective of their boyhood beliefs, and at the same time gaining a stronger hold on the fundamnetal doctrines of the Christian faith."

In 1877, the noble structure that is now Trinity Church, Boston, was completed. Here the glory of the preaching and the response continued for another fourteen years, with only two threats of change. For, in 1881, Unitarian Harvard took its courage in its hands and offered Brooks the office of sole preacher to the University and a professorship in Ethics. He was sorely tempted to accept, but Trinity's iron determination to keep him prevailed. Five years later, an election as assistant bishop in Pennsylvania, carrying with it the succession to the second largest diocese of the Church, was more easily declined.

It was while he was at Trinity that the considerable literary production of its Rector saw the light. As early as 1877 came the famous Yale **Lectures on Preaching,** material based on Brooks' own experience. (When Brooks returned from giving these lectures, with a naiveness not unknown to Harvard men, he declared that Yale was quite a college!)

Brooks' first volume of sermons appeared in 1878; his book on "The Influence of Jesus" in 1879. Numerous volumes of sermons appeared later.

The death of Bishop Paddock on March 9, 1891, when barely sixty-three, made a new election necessary. Brooks seemed to be the choice of most of the diocese, but would the General Church accept a man who was not "sound" on the Apostolic Succession and who once had invited a noted Unitarian (Edward Everett Hale of

the conservative persuasion) to take Communion at a special service in Trinity Church? Even to the older Evangelicals Brooks might seem to preach the old Gospel with power, but in an amazingly strange language. Some diocesan opposition was apparent at the diocesan Convention held on April 29 and 30, 1891. Brooks was nominated by Alexander H. Vinton, rector of All Saints, Worcester, a modified "Connecticut Churchman." On behalf of the Conservatives, Reginald H. Storrs, rector of St. Paul's, Dedham, nominated the Rev. Henry Yates Satterlee, rector of Calvary Church, New York, later to be Bishop of Washington and the founder of its magnificent Cathedral. Brooks was elected on the first ballot, by a vote of 92 to 58 in the clerical order and by 71 to 32 of the parishes, then still voting as units.

The consecration took place on October 14, 1891, just four and a half months after the election, a not unusual length of time when summer intervenes. Nine bishops were present and participating. John Williams of Connecticut, Presiding Bishop, was the Consecrator. Thomas March Clark of Rhode Island and Henry B. Whipple of Minnesota, Apostle to the Indians, were the co-consecrators. The old-line high Churchmen were represented by William Woodruff Niles of New Hampshire and Abram N. Littlejohn of Long Island, the Anglo-Catholics by William Croswell Doane of Albany, and the newer and older Evangelicals by Henry Codman Potter of New York, Mark Anthony DeWolf Howe of Central Pennsylvania, and Ethelbert Talbot, then missionary bishop of Wyoming and Idaho.

Bishop Brooks' episcopate lasted only fifteen months, but it brought about a diocesan renewal in which the Bishop played a great part. He visited every section of the Diocese, including the hill towns of the Berkshires, preaching to crowded congregations and confirming 2,127 people. His first Episcopal act was to transfer Father Hall to the diocese of Oxford. In his only Episcopal address, replete with constructive suggestions, the Bishop remarked on the peculiar situation in which priests in religious orders under foreign direction bore to the bishops to whom they owed canonical obedience. The immediate result in Boston had been that Fathers Torbert and Charles H. Brent, assistants to Father Hall, withdrew from the Church of St. John the Evangelist and took over the old church building of the Church of the Messiah in the South End, which had been abandoned in favor of a new location in the expanding Back Bay. There they established a great work among the poor under the name of St. Stephen's. Charles Brent was later to be the famous Bishop of the Phillipines. St. Stephen's, today, still exists in a small way in a non-Anglo-Saxon neighborhood.

Bishop Brooks' last Episcopal act was to celebrate the Holy Communion at the consecration of a Boston church on January 14, 1893. Almost immediately, he was seized by a painful disease, the premonitions of which had appeared even before the Consecration, and on January 23 he was gone, aged only fifty-seven.

Boston was stunned by the news. Most of the Church regarded the event as a great calamity, though there were some who were relieved that the danger to Apostolic Order, incarnate in the person of Brooks, had been removed. When a telegram telling the news came to Tokyo, a Nashotah graduate, later to be a bishop in the home Church, was reported to have danced with joy. But Brooks sentiment, however, was strong even in Japan, where certain missionaries had made him into the Church's hero. The present writer recalls that, some fifty years ago, John Yasutaro Naide, later one of the first native Japanese bishops, came to study a while at the Cambridge Seminary. He immediately asked to be shown the grave of Phillips Brooks. The next day he said that he had revisited the spot, and as an act of homage had read a Brooks sermon over the grave.

On the day of the funeral, Trinity Church was crowded, while thousands stood without. To enable the outdoors congregation to participate, one of the hymns was sung and prayers said on Copley Square. The funeral cortege proceeded by request through the Harvard Yard, while the college students lined the roadway. Two of the Bishop's clerical brothers conducted the committal service at the grave in Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge.

The Memorial of the Convention of 1893

"The clergy and laity of the Diocese of Massachusetts, through their Committee, desire to express to the members of the family of their late Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D., and to enter upon the Records of the Diocese, this Minute of their affection for him, and of their sense of the great loss, which by his death, had come to the Church of Christ not only in this Diocese, but throughout the world. He was our Chief Pastor but for little more than a year, and had only begun to call his children by name when he was taken away. Yet every part of the Diocese, and every one of its varied activities had felt the inspiration of his leadership, and his devoted labors had already been crowned with noble and permanent results.

"We found in him one who was a true Bishop and Shepherd, not only seeking to know his sheep, but willing to lay down his life for them. We recall with gratitude his many years of service in the Diocese, for which he was so well fitted not only by his preeminent mental and spiritual endowments, but by his birth and training in this community which he so deeply loved. We are grateful for his years of witnessing to the Gospel of Christ, to the generous Catholicity of our Church, to the loving Fatherhood of God, and to the abiding brotherhood of humanity. Long before he became our Bishop he had won our admiration and affection as our ever helpful brother in the Ministry, as the great Citizen, the great Churchman, the great Preacher of Jesus Christ.

"As our Bishop he had our unshaken trust and love, and he had strengthened our affection and confidence toward each other through the ties by which he had drawn us to himself and to our Divine Master.

"But beyond our grief for the loss of one who filled so nobly and adequately these official relations to us, we claim our share in the sorrow of the multitudes in many lands who mourn the loss of a friend. We sorrow most of all because there is lost to the earth a man in whom the life of Christ was visibly manifested. His life was always hid with Christ in God.

"Therefore we rejoce in the midst of our grief, that he has been enabled to enter into that closer fellowship and communion for which his life had so richly prepared him.

"The Diocese of Massachusetts will always count it to have been a blessing, that she had, though alas for so short a time, the Episcopal leadership of Phillips Brooks."

Charles L. Hutchins

William Lawrence

Charles Morris Addison

Committee of the Diocese

CHAPTER VIII.

The Administration of William Lawrence

1893 - 1927

I.

At the Convention of 1893, amid a mountain of other business, an Episcopal election was held. There were only two real candidates. Dr. William Lawrence, Dean of the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, was nominated by the Rev. John Cotton Brooks, the late bishop's brother, the rector of Christ Church, Springfield. Then the Rev. George S. Converse, for the Conservatives, nominated William Hobart Hare, the illustrious Bishop of South Dakota, "apostle to the Indians." A third nomination, that of Arthur C. A. Hall, then in exile in England, was made by the Rev. George J. Prescott of the Church of the Good Shepherd in Boston.

When the tellers brought in the tally of the first ballot, Dr. Lawrence was easily first in the lay vote. He had 72 of the 114 parochial units, Bishop Hare gathering 23 and Father Hall 12. In the clerical vote the story was different. Dr. Lawrence had 65 votes, Bishop Hare 56, and Father Hall 22. Nineteen complimentary votes were divided among nine other clergymen from within or without the Diocese. There being no concurrent majority, the chair declared, No Election.

In the second ballot, Dr. Lawrence slightly increased his lead in the lay order to 75 out of 110. The clerical vote produced a bare majority, 82 out of 160, for the Dean of Cambridge. The next day, William Lawrence accepted his election, pending the consent of a majority of the Bishops and Standing Committees of the Church.

The Consecration took place on October 5, 1893, eight bishops being present. The Presiding Bishop, John Williams of Connecticut, was again the Consecrator. Co-consecrators were Thomas M. Clark of Rhode Island and Henry M. Neely of Maine. The other five bishops were Frederic D. Huntington of Central New York, William W. Niles of New Hampshire, Henry C. Potter of New York, Alfred M. Randolph of Southern Virginia and Bishop Courtney of Nova Scotia.

II.

The story of Bishop Lawrence's early life could be told in quotations from his several books, particularly "Fifty Years" and "Memories of a Happy Life."

William Lawrence was born in Boston on May 30, 1850, to wealth, simple living and devout household religion. "My father was a successful merchant and manufacturer, but was at heart and in deed a farmer. He financed the emigrants to make Kansas a free State — hence 'Lawrence,' Kansas. He disapproved of John Brown, but helped him; ran for Governor when he was sure of defeat; was Treasurer of Harvard College and drilled the students at the opening of the Civil War; with Henry Lee he recruited the Second Cavalry; headed subscription lists, raised money for Harvard Memorial Hall

and all sorts of enterprises; founded two colleges in the West; built churches and worshipped in them. Our home was in Brookline, then a rural village. He rode horseback, mostly on half-broken brutes, for over fifty years, until he was nearly seventy; and made friends with everyone in town, especially the boys and girls. He never sent his children to Church, but always went with them, and we knew that his religion was the real thing.

"My mother was a woman of rare beauty and dignity, reserved, especially in matters of personal religion. As to her administrative ability, my father used to say that General Grant, if he knew her, would put her at the head of the commissary department."*

"My boyhood was passed in a large and happy family which, through the beautiful character of my parents, daily family prayer and Sunday worship, was saturated with Christian piety. Attending the public schools, the Town Meetings and the rallies in the Civil War, I was filled with the spirit of American Democracy. I went through Harvard University, whose mottoes are "The Truth" and "For Christ and His Church." Knowing personally through my father's friends some of the leaders of New England's thought, literature and religion, I was brought up to face changes of thought and faith with an open mind and with courage."*

In such a rich heritage and environment William Lawrence was born, in a world, however, almost inconceivable today. The universe and the world were both small to the men of 1865. Modern astronomy, archaeology, Biblical learning, biology, medicine, travel, etc., were still remote. William Lawrence grew up in the first flood of a totally different world, of science, history and religion. A good part of this revolution he has depicted in his accounts of Phillips Brooks already quoted. The sermons of Brooks and the lectures of Steenstra and A. V. G. Allen at Cambridge were the media of his transition from an intense, but limited religion to the larger outlook of his maturity.

William Lawrence's first work, after four years at Harvard and three years at Cambridge, was a curacy at Grace Church, Lawrence. For six years, from 1877 to 1883, he was rector there, a faithful pastor and progressively improving preacher. He labored with the managements of the Lawrence mills to have a better system of wage payments installed. Hitherto, the help had been paid by a monthly check, cashable at banking hours when no employee could leave work. The result was that grocery stores became the cashing and credit centers of the city, not to the real good of the worker. Later the monthly check was converted into a weekly payment in cash. The Seventies, though somewhat improved over the Thirties and Forties, were still a time of long hours, low wages, minimum job security and no injury compensation. In his diligent pastoral visiting, the son of privilege, necessarily, had his social vision enlarged.

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* William Lawrence, Fifty Years, p. 45, 6.

In 1886, he was called back to his Seminary at Cambridge to be professor of Homiletics. Two years later he became Dean, after the untimely death of Dean Gray at fifty-two. As Dean he was a real friend and companion of his students. In 1893, the Diocese called him to great service in Church and Country, in an episcopate of 34 years.

The non-diocesan services may well be mentioned first. In 1917, Bishop Lawrence was instrumental in bringing into being, on sound lines, of the Church Pension Fund, a major achievement. A good part of the initial capital of $5,000,000 he raised personally. He was as successful in luring large subscriptions from strangers in Wall Street as he had been with friends in Boston.

His native Harvard made him an Overseer, and, in 1913, he was elected to that select and self-perpetuating body known as the President and Fellows of Harvard College, an organization which has the first or last say on all that happens at that great University. In this capacity, the Bishop spear-headed a ten million dollar drive for the University and a five million dollar one for the Graduate School of Business Administration. As president of the Board of Trustees of Wellesley, he was instrumental in raising several millions for that college.

By 1917, Bishop Lawrence was one of the leading men of the Church. To the Presidency of the new Pension Fund, he added the Chairmanship during World War I of the Church War Commission, as well as holding various other extra-diocesan posts, such as the presidency of the House of Bishops. Bishop Henry St. George Tucker, once Presiding Bishop of the Church, tells in his autobiography, "Exploring the Silent Shore of Memory," about his first experience in the House of Bishops. As he sat at the back of the hall, it seemed to him that Bishop Lawrence and Bishop Hall of Vermont about monopolized the floor. Bishop McKim of Tokyo, educated at Nashotah in its less ritualistic days, once told the writer that no one in the House commanded more attention than Bishop Lawrence. He always had something to say.

The Bishop's published writings are worth mentioning at this point. The earliest one was a biography of his father, "The Life of Amos A. Lawrence," dating from 1888. Amos Lawrence was almost as great a figure in the secular world as was his son in the religious one. His principal physical memorial in the Episcopal Church is Lawrence Hall, the chief dormitory of the Cambridge Seminary. Then followed, in 1896, the "Life of Roger Wolcott," the high-minded Governor of Massachusetts. "The American Cathedral," came in 1919. Then, when the Bishop was well past his seventieth year, "Life of Henry Cabot Lodge," in 1925; "Memories of a Happy Life," (1926); "The New American," (1929); "Life of Phillips Brooks," (1930); and "Story of the Church Pension Fund," in 1931. At that last date the Bishop was eighty-one and had

been retired for four years. His life-long companion, Julia Cunningham, whom he had married in 1874, passed away in 1927. Fifteen honorary doctorates came to the Bishop, beginning with an S.T.D. from Harvard in 1893 and closing with a D. D. from Williams in 1930, and an L. L. D. from Harvard in 1931.

Bishop Lawrence had the happiness of consecrating his own son, William Appleton, to the episcopate of Western Massachusetts in 1937, preaching the sermon. He was then eighty-seven, as mentally active as ever. His third daughter married his successor, Charles Lewis Slattery. The Bishop's youngest son, Frederic Cunningham, became a bishop fifteen years after his father's death, which took place in 1941 at the age of ninety-one.

III.

Bishop Lawrence as Diocesan

As one reads the early Convention addresses of William Lawrence, the outlines of a great episcopate already emerge. These addresses, as do his later books, reveal literary skill, apparently hard-won, concreteness and, occasionally, eloquence in expression. They portray confident and buoyant faith, solidly based on Scripture and undarkened by the guilt-filled ratiocinations of St. Augustine of Hippo. They reveal, further, an administrator ever vigorous, vigilant and skilled, a man of both vision and practical sense. It is no wonder that in five years the Diocese accepted him as a great leader. The general Church was to do so somewhat later.

Immediately after his Consecration, the Bishop plunged into as strenuous visitation of the Diocese as had Phillips Brooks. The nigh two hundred parishes and missions were almost all visited in the year. Three confirmations a Sunday, with three addresses to the candidates and three sermons, were the usual thing. Even the Sundays at his summer home in Bar Harbor included, often, some sermon somewhere in the Diocese of Maine.

The comparatively early deaths of Bishops Paddock and Brooks had produced a general feeling throughout the Diocese that the episcopal burden must somehow be lightened. The first expedient was to create five archdeaconries, with some rector acting as archdeacon in his area. Thus the city of Boston was made one archdeaconry. The other four were the archdeaconry of Lowell, comprising Essex and Middlesex counties and part of Suffolk county, the archdeaconry of New Bedford, comprising the southeastern counties of the state, the archdeaconry of Worcester, comprising the county of that name, and the archdeaconry of Springfield, covering the western and weakest part of the Diocese.

This arrangement did facilitate administration on a lower level, but did not relieve the bishop of much of his responsibility. For parishes, people and problems still continued to increase. Since

suffragan bishops were not then canonically permissible, the only other alleviating alternatives were a Coadjutor Bishop or the division of the Diocese. To elect a successor to the Bishop in the person of a Coadjutor, many years before the Diocesan would naturally lay down his burden, hardly seemed appropriate. So a division of the Diocese appeared to be the logical, even if distasteful, answer. For Boston was the hub, as much to the Berkshires as to suburban Brookline. Furthermore, where should the dividing line be? Most of the wealth and strength of the Diocese and most of its parishes were in the Boston orbit. Again, where could an Episcopal fund to support another bishop be found? What about the other diocesan funds which had their main source and their center in Boston?

The dividing line, it was finally agreed, should be at the eastern end of Worcester County, excepting the town of Southborough, where was located St. Mark's School, which was irrevocably tied, financially and otherwise, to Boston. In the matter of financing the new diocese, Bishop Lawrence's talent in such matters soon showed itself. Largely at his suggestion and stimulation, $100,000 was raised for the Episcopal Fund of the new diocese in Eastern Massachusetts as a unique gift, and all other diocesan funds, legally alienable, were allocated to the new diocese, in some proportion to the number of its parishes. These comprised less than a fourth of the parishes and missions of the old diocese, but were scattered over three-fifths of its area. With such generous gifts the parent diocese launched its daughter on its independent career. But, before this was completed, a canon providing for the consecration of suffragan bishops was passed by General Convention. Pursuant to the canon, Massachusetts obtained its suffragan in the person of Samuel Gavitt Babcock, a native of Westerly, Rhode Island, the successful rector of Christ Church, Hyde Park, and for some years the full-time archdeacon of the Diocese. Bishop Babcock served in this capacity from 1913 to 1937. Since then Raymond A. Heron and Frederic C. Lawrence have been his successors.

In 1902, the division of the Diocese was completed. Out of 221 parishes and 262 clergy, 48 cures and 54 clergy were handed on to the new Diocese of Western Massachusetts. The following table shows how quickly the old Diocese made up the losses of 1902, and how steadily diocesan growth progressed, up to the retirement of Bishop Lawrence in 1927. The one item in which statistical advance was small was in Church School enrollment. This increased by 10%, whereas communicants had nearly doubled and contributions had risen by about 250%. Perhaps this Church school item accounts in part for a much lessened rate of increase in the thirty years which have elapsed since 1927.

Statistical Table of the Diocese of Massachusetts
1901 to 1927

	1901	1903	1909	1915	1927
Parishes and Missions	222	175	188	199	214
Clergy	262	212	225	251	263
Communicants	40,681	34,681	42,899	55,202	64,581
Baptisms	3,641	2,852	3,320	3,721	3,476
Confirmations	2,066	2,258	2,456	2,973	3,398
Church School Pupils	23,923	20,202	23,319	23,621	22,022
Contributions	$904,866	881,242	909,180	1,169,616	2,201,120

How has Massachusetts, in its two dioceses, compared with the other religious denominations of the area? The State had a population of 3,003,681 in 1900. The religious census of 1906 gave the following figures: Roman Catholics (including all baptized children) 1,080,706; Congregationalists (including only adult members) 119,116; Baptists (adult members) 80,894; Methodists 65,408; Episcopalians (communicants only) 57,636; all other denominations, including Jews and Orthodox, 216,417. Since the non-Roman religious bodies, on the average, have a constituency 50% larger than the adult membership, the total number of non-Romans, so computed, would be about 800,000. This would have left nearly a third of the State's population without any affiliation, however tenuous, with any religious body. In the last fifty years, Roman Catholics have doubled and Episcopalians, in their little compass, have done almost as well. The larger part of the Episcopal increase has been in the first half of the half century, or in the Lawrence era.

From time to time in his Convention addresses, Bishop Lawrence called attention to the large contribution which the Episcopal Theological Theological School in Cambridge had made to the Church in leadership in various ways. Perhaps we may pause here to list the graduates of E.T.S. who have been consecrated to Episcopal bishoprics. Bishop Lawrence was the first so consecrated, and was the only one for ten years. In 1904, the General Convention met for the second time in Boston, and was hospitably entertained. One highlight was the election of Logan Herbert Roots (1896) to the missionary jurisdiction of Hankow, where he was destined to play a far-reaching role.

Roots heads a numerous succession of outstanding missionary bishops who got their education and inspiration from the Episcopal Theological School. Following him quickly in the election to the episcopate were Julius Atwood (Class of 1882) of Arizona, Theodore Payne Thurston (1894) of Oklahoma, Louis Childs Sanford (1892) of San Joaquin and Frank Hale Touret (1903) of Western Colorado. In later decades, we may note the elections of Arthur W. Moulton (1900) and Stephen Cutter Clark (1917) to Utah, Herman Page (1891) to Spokane, to be followed by a translation to a notable episcopate in the Diocese of Michigan.

More recent elections to missionary jurisdictions have been Frederick Bethune Bartlett (Class of 1908) to Idaho, Harry Beal (1911) to the Canal Zone, William Payne Roberts (1914) to Shanghai, Douglas Henry Atwill (1907) to North Dakota, Albert Ervine Swift (1938) to Puerto Rico, and Lyman Cunningham Ogilby (1951) to the Philippines. All but one of these were men of the Brooks-Lawrence tradition. In 1958, Edmund K. Sherrill became Missionary Bishop of Southern Brazil, his father being consecrator.

Suffragans of a long tenure have been Theodore Russell Ludlow (1911) of Newark, John Insley Blair Larned of Long Island, both of the class of 1911, and Donald J. Campbell (1932) of Los Angeles. The Diocese of Massachusetts has also claimed three Cambridge men as suffragans, Samuel Gavitt Babcock (1891) who served from 1913 to 1942, Raymond Adams Heron (1916 suffragan from 1938 to 1954, and Frederic Cunningham Lawrence (1924) elected in 1956. Donald Bradshaw Aldrich (1922) was Coadjutor in Michigan for a year, resigning after a heart attack. In 1954, Archie Henry Crowley (1934) became suffragan in Michigan. A second suffragan there was Robert L. DeWitt (1940) elected in Michigan in 1960, as was George B. Millard (1938) in California.

The roll of diocesan bishops, many of them in large Sees, is also impressive. The first of these was James DeWolf Perry (1895) who was elected to Rhode Island in 1911. He was Presiding Bishop from 1930 to 1938. In 1913, Theodore Irving Reese (1897) was chosen bishop in Southern Ohio. In 1919, Edward Lambe Parsons became bishop and a notable figure in the Diocese and State of California. In 1922, Charles Lewis Slattery (1894) was elected coadjutor in Massachusetts, succeeding Bishop Lawrence in 1927. William Bertrand Stevens (1910) was the long-time Bishop in Los Angeles (1920-47).

After an interval, the procession of bishops, prominent both locally and in the General Church, formed once more. In 1930, Henry Wise Hobson (1920) went to Southern Ohio, and William Scarlett (1909) from the deanship of the Cathedral in St. Louis to its episcopal chair. In the same year Massachusetts took Henry Knox Sherrill from Trinity Church, Boston, to succeed Charles L. Slattery. Sherrill was elected Presiding Bishop in 1947 and finished his statutory term in 1958. Other notable episcopates were those of William Appleton Lawrence (1914) in Western Massachusetts, from 1937 to 1957, and Malcolm Endicott Peabody (1916) of Central New York, who, elected in 1938 as Coadjutor, became Diocesan in 1942, with a term ending by Canon in 1960. The first of these men was the son of Bishop William Lawrence, and the second the son of Endicott Peabody, the famous founder of Groton School. In 1944, Angus Dun (1917) left the deanship of the Cambridge School to begin a notable career in Diocese, General Church and Ecumenical circles as Bishop of Washington. His term ends in 1962. From 1936 to 1953, Lewis Bliss Whittemore (1915) was bishop in Western Michigan.

In 1946, Richard Stanley Merritt Emrich, also a graduate and professor at Cambridge, went, at the age of thirty-seven, to be suffragan and diocesan in the great diocese of Michigan. In 1947, Norman Burdett Nash (1915), son of a noted Cambridge professor, Henry Sylvester Nash, and himself long a professor there, was called from the rectorship of St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H., to succeed Henry Sherrill in Massachusetts. In 1947 also, Horace William Baden Donegan (1927) became suffragan in New York and shortly thereafter coadjutor and diocesan. In 1951, Arthur Carl Lichtenberger (1925) succeeded Scarlett in Missouri. In 1958, he succeeded Sherrill as Presiding Bishop. In 1956, Anson Phelps Stokes (1932) was elected to follow Nash in Massachusetts. In 1957, Robert McConnell Hatch, son of a noted scholar and professor at Cambridge (W. H. P. Hatch, 1902), succeeded Appleton Lawrence in Western Massachusetts, after six years as suffragan in Connecticut. In 1959, George L. Cadigan followed Lichtenberger in Missouri, and Roger W. Blanchard was Hobson's successor in Southern Ohio.

Elections of Cambridge graduates to smaller dioceses have also been numerous. In 1939, Arthur Raymond McKinstry (1920) became Bishop of Delaware, to be succeeded in 1954 by John Brooke Moseley of the class of 1940. In 1941, Oliver Leland Loring (1930) was elected Bishop of Maine, and, in 1947, his older brother, Richard Tuttle Loring, Jr. (1929) went to a short episcopate in Springfield, Illinois. Both bishops were the sons of Richard Tuttle Loring (1899), for some thirty years rector in Newtonville, and both made the transition from ancestral Evangelicalism to the Catholic tradition. In 1943, Herman Riddle Page, son of the E. T. S. Bishop of Michigan, was elected to Northern Michigan. In 1948, Charles Francis Hall (1936) began a notable episcopate in New Hampshire. Charles Asa Clough (1929) in 1948 succeeded Richard Loring in the See of Springfield, a little Episcopal island in a vast lake of Protestantism and Romanism.

These more than fifty bishops, mostly of the Lawrence tradition, have not been all that the Diocese of Massachusetts has given to the American episcopate. The old-time Churchmen and the newer Catholics have made a considerable contribution. As far back as 1812 and 1818, Massachusetts gave South Carolina Theodore Dehon and Nathaniel Bowen. In 1832, John Henry Hopkins and George Washington Doane went to Vermont and New Jersey. Horatio Southgate, in 1844, stayed for a short and fruitless term as missionary bishop in the Middle East, serving for a time after his return as rector of the Church of the Advent in Boston. Henry Washington Lee of Iowa (1854), Thomas March Clark of Rhode Island (1854) followed. William Bacon Stevens (1862) went to Pennsylvania, and Mark Anthony DeWolf Howe (1871) went to Central Pennsylvania, now Harrisburg. John Freeman Young became bishop in Florida in 1867 and William Stevens Perry of Iowa in 1876. In 1869, Frederic Dan Huntington went to a long and honorable episcopate in Central New York.

Besides these men, mostly Evangelicals, others sailed forth to Catholic dioceses or dioceses which became such or partly such under their rule. Such were Cyrus Frederic Knight (1889) of Milwaukee, Charles Chapman Grafton (1889) of Fond du Lac, Arthur C. A. Hall of Vermont (1894), Robert Codman of Maine (1900), Edward William Osborne of Springfield, Philip Mercer Rhinelander of Pennsylvanie (1912). To these we may add the names of other sorts of Churchmen, such as Alexander Mann, long rector of Trinity, Boston, and of Charles Henry Brent, bishop of the Philippines and of Western New York. Others of only a short stay in Massachusetts, such as Henry Codman Potter of New York, likewise adorned the House of Bishops. In brief, Massachusetts has been largely responsible for a tenth of the bishops of the Church, past and present.

The year 1908 marks the fifteenth year of the Lawrence episcopate. By that year, all the communicant losses involved in the dividing of the Diocese were made up. In the same year the Diocese made Episcopal history by securing the first full-time Director of Christian Education in the Church. This was a precursor of the three full-time workers of the present. By this time likewise, the future organization of the Diocese was complete. There was a full-time archdeacon, Samuel G. Babcock, a preliminary to the three of the present. Only a suffragan bishop was lacking. Archdeacon Babcock was promoted to the offiice in 1913. Three full-time archdeacons, besides the suffragan, were to come later.

A brief listing of the various organizations reporting to the Diocesan Convention in 1909 show the wide sweep of the work. First, of course, comes the Diocesan Board of Missions. The Board itself made a long report to which were attached the reports of the three archdeaconries and of Archdeacon Babcock, together with various workers reporting to the Archdeacon directly. Some $15,000 of missionary aid, in amounts of $50 to $400, were given to 22 places in the archdeaconry of Lowell, to 28 in that of New Bedford and to two places in the city and archdeaconry of Boston.

In the archdeaconry of Lowell four new missions were started: in Attleboro, in Brighton, Wilmington and Somerville. Epiphany, Dorchester, had a new church building, as did the united colored missions of St. Martin and St. Augustine, once in the North and West Ends of Boston.

Likewise a church and rectory were abuilding in Franklin, whence the Rev. Guy W. Miner ministered vigorously in neighboring places such as Medway, Medfield and Millis. In this last place, as well as in Norwood and Orient Heights (in East Boston), building lots had been acquired. Orient Heights is now gone, the others have grown. Numerous parishes had extinguished or reduced their mortgages and had reduced or given up missionary aid.

Special reports covered the work among students and sailors and longshoremen in Boston, as well as work among prisoners and deaf mutes. Services were conducted in Swedish, Danish and Welsh. Much of the growth of the work could be attributed to the thousands of calls made by the three diocesan parish visitors. Many Episcopalians have a way of remaining in hiding until some one ferrets them out!

Looking back half a century, one can see the growth, particularly in financial strength, of most of the twenty-two missions or aided parishes in the archdeaconry of Lowell. Eleven of the twenty-two have become self-supporting and, in several instances, due primarily to suburban exodus, big parishes. The parishes of the Ascension in East Cambridge and of the Ascension in Waltham have disappeared. Missionary work, without expense to the Diocese, was carried on in fourteen other places by neighboring rectors. Of these fourteen, Stoneham, Rockport and Beverley Farms have developed strong parishes.

In the archdeaconry of New Bedford, twenty-two year-round churches and six summer chapels received diocesan aid, while fifteen others were ministered to by neighboring rectors. Of the twenty-two first mentioned, most have become self-supporting in the last fifty years, and a half dozen have become strong parishes. Three of the summer chapels, Marion, Harwichport and Provincetown are now year-round churches. Of the fifteen chapels ministered to by the neighboring clergy, four have become medium-size parishes, and most of the others have grown.

In the archdeaconry of Boston, comprising the city proper, the story is somewhat different. Social service work among the poor, among sailors and longshoremen loomed large. There were five mission churches, two Sailors Missions, the Church Rescue Mission and Summer Work. The Rev. Frederic B. Allen was for a generation the active head of the Boston City Mission.

The five mission churches, however, have, with population changes, either disappeared or have retrograded. St. Mary's Free Church for Sailors has gone. The sailors and Protestant longshoremen live elsewhere. St. Ansgarius' Church for Swedes on Shawmut Avenue is no more, as Swedish immigration has largely ceased and the younger generation has melted into full American life. St. Stephen's Church on Florence Street, which, under Torbert, Brent, and later, Samuel Drury, attracted many from far and near, has become a mere shadow of its former self. The same is true of Grace Church, South Boston. There, also, the Church of the Redeemer has merged with once-flourishing St. Mathew's. The Dorchester parishes and missions were to grow and then to decrease in the course of the next half century.

In brief, the Church was to increase largely in Boston, as well as in the suburbs, in the episcopate of William Lawrence. After his day the Church in the suburbs was to grow still more, while in Boston the picture was that of slow retreat. Transients, students and communicants from the suburbs now make up a large part of the congregations of the historic churches of Boston. The problem of the urban church is now acute, in Boston as elsewhere.

Coincident with Bishop Lawrence's fifteenth anniversary in 1908 was the raising of a Diocesan Reinforcement Fund of some $93,000 to be given to missions and parishes in matching amounts. Thus, in 1909, St. Peter's, Cambridge, was led to pay off a long-standing debt on its rectory on Clinton Street. Numerous other churches were induced to pay off debts or build new under the same dollar-for-dollar stimulation.

In the year 1908, another new development took place in the Diocese, namely that of the so-called colored work. Up to that time, such enterprise, as we have seen, had been confined to that conducted by the Cowley Fathers in the North and West Ends of Boston. In the course of time, the two missions of St. Martin and St. Augustine had been consolidated in a new church bearing both names. Many of the colored folk of that area had been pushed from the northern into the southern end of the city by immigration from southern and eastern Europe. Jews and Italians here followed the negroes instead of being followed by them. So, increasing migration from the West Indies, with its large proportion of Anglicans, led to a new problem. The Church of the Ascension in the South End, a parochial enterprise of wealthy Emmanuel Church in the Back Bay, began to harbor what was felt to be an uncomfortably large proportion of colored members. The case was the same with St. Peter's parish in Cambridge.

In 1907, the Rev. Lyman Eustis from Colorado became rector of St. Peter's. He soon felt parochial pressure to do something about the "colored problem." His solution was to segregate the classes in Sunday School. Immediately about a hundred colored communicants withdrew from St. Peter's parish. Nearby was a small white mission, St. Bartholomew's, which was struggling along under the ministry of theologues from E.T.S. of whom the present writer was the last. Under him, St. Bartholomew's began to change from white to black. When Mr. John S. Brown and a few friends knocked on its doors, they were made welcome. Before long, the congregation had doubled and a class of eleven colored folk was presented to Bishop Lawrence for confirmation. At this time, the Rev. Mr. Maguire, formerly colored archdeacon in Arkansas, but a native of the West Indies, applied to the bishop for work in Massachusetts. So the decision was made to let him try his hand at St. Bartholomew's. The white people were not asked to leave, but did so. Eventually, some few were shepherded into St. Peter's and into the still flourishing mission of the Ascension, now defunct, in East

Cambridge. Father Maguire began his three month's trial with great vigor. From July 1 on he ran both morning and evening services. In the evening he preached eloquently on the Ten Commandments. By the time he had arrived at the Seventh, the Wardens were passing the plate on the sidewalks of Columbia Street! The three months' trial resulted in triumph and St. Bartholomew's was launched on a new and glorious career. It is now one of the half dozen large colored parishes of the Episcopal Church.

In the rectorship of Kenneth de Poullain Hughes, beginning in 1940, the parish moved into a large brick, formerly Methodist, church on Broadway, the congregation of which had left and united elsewhere.

In the course of one of the rectorships previous to that of Father Hughes, a rift occurred in the ranks of the parish between the old-timers, negroes long resident, and the newer Churchmen from the West Indies. The ultimate result was the founding of a parish in the South End of Boston, namely, the large and prosperous St. Cyprian's, which reached its height under the long administration of David Leroy Ferguson, a 1904 graduate of E.T.S. With the slow withdrawal of white non-Romans from the city of Boston and the ever increasing influx of colored folk from the South and West Indies, the missionary work of the Archdeaconry of Boston is now headed by a colored Archdeacon, the upstanding John M. Burgess, a graduate of Cambridge. This appointment was one of the last acts of Bishop Nash. In 1960, Mr. Burgess was nearly elected a suffragan in Michigan.

The next ten years of Bishop Lawrence's episcopate, culminating in a diocesan observance of his twenty-fifth anniversary, carry us through World War I. During our brief participation he was head of the Church War Commission. During these years he had also worked on the founding of the Church Pension Fund, which began its beneficent and far-reaching operations in 1917. He was President of it for many years.

The Diocese, in these ten years, as we can see from the foregoing statistical table, was steadily advancing in numbers and financial strength. The Church was still growing somewhat in the city of Boston, and vastly more in most of the rest of the Diocese. Communicant increase was still outrunning that of the population.

Another project, which had interested the Bishop for years, was the securing of a Cathedral. After various more or less ambitious building projects had been considered, such as the erection of a Cathedral on a new island in the Charles River, the final decision was to make central St. Paul's, Boston, the Cathedral Church. Much money was spent to enlarge its facilities and Dr. Edward S. Rousmaniere was called from Grace Church, Providence, to be the first

Dean. His congregation grew. Daily noontime services, portico services in summer and classes in personal religion in winter were some of his innovations. For many years St. Paul's continued to be one of the big parishes of the Diocese, but more recently it has counted only 400 out of 1400 communicants once reported. For meetings of Cenvention and for big diocesan gatherings Trinity Church, Boston, continues to be used.

In 1922, Bishop Lawrence, then seventy-two, asked for a Co-adjutor. On October 31, 1922, Charles Lewis Slattery, rector of Grace Church, New York, then one of the four chief parishes of the Church, was so consecrated.

After another five years, Bishop Lawrence resigned and turned over his See to his designated successor. Thirty-four years, great in diocesan achievement and in service to the General Church had passed. Retirement, however, did not mean inactivity. The literary work, which he had begun in his late thirties with a biography of his father, continued. His last ecclesiastical act of moment was to be preacher and chief consecrator at the setting apart of his son, William Appleton Lawrence, to the See of Western Massachusetts, on January 13, 1937. On November 6, 1941, he passed to his rest. With Bishop Brent of the Philippines, one of his former priests, William Lawrence remains one of the two greatest Episcopal bishops of his generation.

CHAPTER IX.

The Episcopate of Charles Lewis Slattery

1927 - 1930

Coadjutor (1922 - 1927)

For five years Bishop Slattery had been the indefatigable and lovable Coadjutor of the Diocese. The qualities which had made him preeminent in Minnesota, Springfield and New York were abundantly manifest in Massachusetts. In three short years he was gone, aged only sixty-two, like Codman of Maine, Booth of Vermont, Vinton and Davies of Western Massachusetts, long before his time.

Charles Lewis Slattery was born in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, December 9, 1867, where his father, George Slattery, was rector. On his father's side he came from Protestant Irish ancestors intermarried with Rhode Island Yankees; on his mother's side, he came from a long Yankee line, in the State of Maine, of farmers, merchants and soldiers.*

Such was the mother of Charles Lewis Slattery, who was to live with him until her death, shortly before his election to the episcopate in 1922. For his father, George Slattery, had died at fifty-five, a victim of overwork, in his second parish in Pennsylvania, Christ Church, Greensburg. Charles was born in St James rectory in Pittsburg, where his father had labored eleven years. Their great friend in both places was Felix Brunot, a "prince of men, engaged in every good work in Pittsburg." Charles Slattery's first book was entitled "Felix Brunot, Radical."

Charles Slattery was only five when his father passed away. His widowed mother continued to live in Greensburg for some years, moving thence to ancestral Maine, where Charles was confirmed at fifteen in St. Paul's parish, Brunswick, under Dr. Harry P. Nichols. The paternal relationship then established became a fraternal one with the years.

Upon the death of the father, the older son, George, had gone to Colorado and had become a farmer. In his sixteenth year Charles went to join him for a year. It was a year of adventure and outdoor life, as well as indoor reading. The young man devoured Shakespeare, Charles Lamb and Macauley.

Then followed a three months experience as a sixteen-year-old teacher at a small ranch school. Later, the East Denver High School gave him the necessary preparation for Harvard, which he entered in 1887, instead of going to Yale, as Harry Nichols had wanted him to do. A determining factor in this choice was a letter from Phillips Brooks whom the young student had consulted. This letter now hangs framed in Phillips Brooks House at Harvard.

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* There is an interesting biography of Bishop Slattery, exquisitely written by his lifelong friend Howard Chandler Robbins. Harpers, 1931. Numerous quotations from it follow.

Slowly and shyly the young man developed precious friendships. He became a remarkable student. "The A's kept coming with monotonous regularity, varied by an occasional A plus. . . Deficiency and irregularity in preparation had been made up by hard work."

The great formative influence in Slattery's religious life in college had been Phillips Brooks. When the great preacher was elected Bishop in 1891, Slattery had no doubt as to the Diocese in which he should be a candidate, or the Theological School in which he should study.

So, in September, Slattery found himself in Lawrence Hall at E.T.S., where he had roomed for a year in college. He was in the company of a small body of choice souls who were to be marked men in the Church in future years, such as Bishops Roots of China, Thurston of Oklahoma, Edward L. Parsons of California and Henry Bradford Washburn, many years Dean at the Cambridge School.

"In liberal circles the Episcopal Theological School was at this time at the height of its influence and prestige. No other seminary in the Episcopal Church, or perhaps in the entire Anglican Communion could boast a faculty of men of greater ability or more entirely devoted to the search for truth. Dean Lawrence was already giving evidence of the administrative ability which was later on to make him in this respect the foremost figure in the American Church. Dr. Alexander V. G. Allen occupied the chair of ecclesiastical history. In his **Continuity of Christian Thought,** a book dedicated to his friend, Phillips Brooks, he had explored the Greek tradition in the Christian religion and made the most original and significant contribution to theological thought that had come from the United States since the days of Jonathan Edwards. Doctor Steenstra, affectionately called "Steenie," eccentric, witty, learned, was teaching Bible exegesis with complete disregard of prejudices and conventional interpretations and complete faith in the methods of modern criticism. Doctor Henry S. Nash was teaching the New Testament and its background in Judaism in the same scholarly fashion, suffused with a profound spirituality, which made him the most influential person in the School. The younger members of the faculty, the Reverend Edward S. Drown and the Reverend Max Kellner were employing in their respective departments of Theology and Hebrew the same methods and exhibiting a similar spirit. Welded into unity by strong conviction and by misunderstanding, criticism and opposition from without, the school stood four-square, a citadel of liberalism, and a school of the prophets, the counterpart in the Episcopal Church of Union Seminary in the Presbyterian Communion."

The three short years in Seminary were soon passed. Growth in friendship kept pace with growth in scholarship. The future scholar, teacher and pastor was being gradually developed. Thus it was natural, in the welter of other alternatives, that Charles

Slattery should begin work as a master in Groton School and pastor of the nearby congregation in Ayer. Dr. Peabody provided a home for him and his mother near the school buildings.

After two years at Groton and Ayer, Slattery listened to the Macedonian call of Harry Nichols and Theodore Thurston to come to Minnesota, where they felt that the clergy and laity needed to discover the modern world. Slattery, after consultation with Bishop Lawrence and others, regarded a call to the Cathedral Parish at Faribault as an opportunity of the first magnitude. He was destined to do a great work there from 1896 to 1907.

The Cathedral parish had some 400 communicants, and several hundred attendants from the Shattuck School for Boys, St. Mary's School for Girls, and the Seabury Divinity School. Winter congregations were thus large, even if the salary was small, only twelve hundred dollars. But Slattery was a bachelor, still in his twenties and accustomed to rigid economy, and living expenses were not as high in Minnesota as in the East.

Then began a pleasant association with Bishop Whipple, now nearly eighty, who had founded all these institutions and much else besides. "The Cathedral was a large building seating about a thousand, dignified in interior, but not very attractive. The service was more elaborate than the new Dean was accustomed to, but not extreme, and he had sensibly decided to fall in with the customs. . . The only thing that he did not like was the use of wafer bread, a usage which he thought detracted from the symbolism of the Lord's Supper." Somewhat later the use of wafer bread and altar candles was dropped, and no one seemed to care.

The Old Testament professor at the Divinity School was a bit suspicious of the new arrival with his modernistic ideas on the Bible. Slattery wrote: "I know he considers my coming a calamity, but he has really been very kind, and no one could be a more faithful parishioner."

The great problem in an otherwise satisfactory parish was to get men to Church. Slattery solved it, in part, by starting a Men's Club of fifty, all pledged to attend Evening Service. These services were shortened and the addresses were generally on the Old Testament and its spiritual values. The Evening Service attendance grew from thirty to two or three hundred.

Thus the years lengthened to eleven. Bishop Whipple's second wife, a wealthy woman, provided the parish with a beautiful new deanery. After the Bishop's death, Slattery gathered the money to add a fine memorial tower to the Cathedral.

As might be expected, Slattery was besieged with calls to go elsewhere. He accepted a call to St. John's, Providence, then one of the chief parishes of New England, but withdrew it on the sudden death of Bishop Whipple. His name began to appear in Episcopal elections. Thus ancestral Maine gave him a good vote when he was only thirty-two and had barely completed five years at Faribault. (The Diocese, chose the Catholic path and Robert Codman, the wealthy rector of St. John's, Tremont St.). In Minnesota, he could have been an active candidate, but preferred to electioneer for others. Calls came to theological professorships, both in Faribault and at the General Seminary, as well as calls from Chicago, Syracuse and Springfield, Massachusetts, to say nothing of the chaplaincy at the University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee. On the advice of Bishop Lawrence and of Dean Hodges of E.T.S. he selected Christ Church, Springfield, Massachusetts.

The three years of stay here were full of accomplishment in material things, in preaching and in pastoral work. In this last, for example, Slattery was so diligent in tracing down the lost that he even discovered one of them, a young woman, in a house of ill fame. He was successful in persuading her to start life anew.

Writing and preaching, as well as parochial administration, were making Slattery a marked man in the Church. The General Seminary in New York called him again, and sermons in Holy Trinity and in old Trinity led eventually to the call to what was then the most influential parish in the Church, Grace Church in New York City. There he was called upon to take up the mantle of William R. Huntington, long "the first presbyter of the Church."

At Faribault Slattery had written four books, two of them biographies and two of them of a theological nature. The biographies were those of Felix Brunot, the old family friend and outstanding citizen, and of Edward Lincoln Atkinson, a close friend, early cut off by drowning in what might well have been a great career. The theological treatises, adapted to popular use, were a study of Christ entitled **"The Master of the World"** and a treatise on immortality entitled **"Life Beyond Life."** For the last two writings the Episcopal Theological School broke its historic reserve and gave Slattery the degree of D.D.

The brief, but memorable rectorship in Springfield produced two more books, **The Historic Ministry and the Present Christ** and **Present Day Preaching,** meant as a handbook for those who wished to preach in a liberal vein.

The twelve years in Grace Church saw two more biographies. They were of his old teacher in Church history, entitled **Alexander Viets Griswold Allen,** and of his beloved diocesan in New York, entitled **David Hummell Greer.** Other books were the **Paddock**

Lectures of 1911-1912, The Authority of Religious Experience (1912), the **West Lectures at Stanford University** (1915), **The Light Within** (1915), **Why Men Pray** (1916), **The Gift of Immortality** (1916), **A Churchman's Reading** (1917), **The Holy Communion** (1918), **With God in the War** (1918), **Certain American Faces** (19-18), **The Lord's Prayer** (1920), **The Ministry** (1921).

After his consecration as Bishop Coadjutor of Massachusetts, he wrote **The Spirit of France as Told in Forty-two Sonnets** (1923) and, in 1924, the biography of another close friend, **William Austin Smith.** Then followed **Bible Lessons** in 1925, **The Words from His Throne** in 1927, and **Following Christ** (1928.

II.

"Grace Church, beautiful and commandingly situated . . . The congregation was composed of quiet mannered people with a background of thc best traditions of old New York. The generosity of the congregation was proverbial. Its gifts, exclusive of income from endowments, amounted annually to between two and three hundred thousand. Missionary bishops were elated when given the opportunity to present their needs to the people of Grace. In institutional work twenty or more buildings and twice as many parochial agencies showed the diversified activities of the parish. In the beauty and order of its services Grace Church had become quite as validly the norm for Episcopalians as the Abbey was in England for those who preferred a more elaborate ritual. In public affairs, a former rector, Henry Codman Potter, had been the first citizen of New York; his successor, Dr. Huntington, had become an influential if less conspicuous force in the life of the city, and one greater than Bishop Potter in the councils of the church. . . . Grace Church had a tradition of which to be proud."

Slattery followed this tradition for twelve glorious years, following in the steps of his predecessor and filling his shoes.

For one who always put the personal emphasis first, Doctor Slattery was curiously methodical. Every call was at once entered on a card, with notations. In case of serious illness the card would show from half a dozen to a dozen calls within a month.

Slattery was thus even more a pastor than his predecessors. He was equally successful as a preacher. As a public figure he was undoubtedly less conspicuous. His long-time friend, William Austin Smith, then editor of the Churchman and a chronic crusader, felt that Slattery was lacking in the crusading spirit. Many good men are, yet often achieve great things.

Much as Slattery preferred to restrict himself to the incessant duties of his great parish, he could not entirely avoid diocesan committee meetings and obligations to the General Church. He served on the Social Service Commission of the Diocese, as president of the Standing Committee and as clerical deputy to the General Convention. In this last he succeeded to the post of leadership in Prayer Book revision which Huntington had filled so long. Just as his predecessor had steered the General Church through the revised Book of 1893, so Slattery was largely responsible for the version of 1928. Grace Church and its daughter parish, the Church of the Incarnation not only led the Diocese in contributions for Missions and for the building of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, but also in gifts for the Five Million with which Bishop Lawrence was launching the Church Pension Fund.

These considerable biographical details, as in the case of Phillips Brooks and William Lawrence, emphasize the greatness of the three men whom the Diocese of Massachusetts successively elected to its episcopate. "Coming events cast their shadows before them, and the shadow of the Episcopate lay upon the path of Charles Slattery almost from the beginning of his ministry." Not a few men in Maine, Washington and Maryland voted for him. "Twice in New York he had narrowly missed election."

In 1919, Slattery was confronted with the decision whether or not to accept election as Dean of the Episcopal Theological School in succession to Dean George Hodges. The pressure to stay in New York prevailed over the counter-pressure to go to Cambridge.

When in 1922, Bishop Lawrence asked for a coadjutor, all eyes were turned to Grace Church rectory. Slattery, however, was not elected until the second ballot. The suffragan, Samuel G. Babcock, received, for personal and conservative reasons, not a few votes. The only other important candidate was the rector of Trinity Church, Boston, Alexander Mann, one of foremost presbyters of both the Diocese and the General Church, who had been for three General Conventions president of the House of Deputies. Shortly after this election, Dr. Mann, already sixty-two, who had previously declined two other calls to the episcopate, accepted the Diocese of Pittsburg.

The consecration took place in Trinity Church on October 31, 1922. Bishop Lawrence was consecrator as well as preacher. Co-consecrators were Beverly Tucker of Virginia and Bishop Babcock. A dozen visiting bishops were also on hand. Slattery, however, was seriously indisposed. He had come up from New York the previous day lying on his back in a special compartment. At the Consecration service, the present writer, who was seated not far off, wondered whether he would not faint away. Bishop Slattery said, after the service, that he hardly knew what had happened. But a long rest in the afternoon braced him for the Churchman's Club dinner in the evening and the customary speech.

Bishop Lawrence assigned to his coadjutor the charge of the Diocesan Church Service League, the coordinating organization of the activities of the Diocese, and the charge of the self-supporting parishes. The missions remained in the hands of Bishop Babcock. Charles Slattery was thus shielded from the complications which beset the administration of missionary parishes. Did he ever come to realize them? Once, when he was lecturing at the Wellesley Conference, the author heard him give an outline of a proper clergyman's day. The morning hours were to be reserved for office work, consultations and perhaps visitation of the sick, and the preparation of sermons. The hours between two and four should be rigidly reserved for reading. Before four o'clock parishioners were not ready to receive you!

Bishop Slattery rented a six-story house on Marlborough Street in which to live. It had no elevator and the heating arrangements were not of the best. One day Bishop Lawrence came in and found the house cold, the Coadjutor sick in bed and all the servants gone. He took off his coat and stoked up the furnace. On returning home, he and his wife decided that the Coadjutor must temporarily be moved to their own more comfortable house. There Slattery renewed the acquaintance of one whom he had known as an athletic young girl who lived in the Deanery next to Lawrence Hall. Sarah Lawrence was now a woman of forty-four, experienced in social work and a trustee of Wellesley College. Reacquaintance soon blossomed into romance, greatly to the delight of the Diocese and of Slattery's friends everywhere. The marriage took place in St. Paul's Cathedral on November 19, 1923, Bishop Lawrence, assisted by Dean Rousmaniere, officiating.

In the meantime, Slattery had plunged, with his customary assiduity, into his new assignment. After a Confirmation he never failed, before going to bed, to send a little note of congratulation or encouragement to the man who had presented the candidates. After his marriage, with the social connections that that involved with all Bay Bay, Boston, this often had to be a midnight affair.

One characteristic note of Bishop Slattery's brief episcopate might be entitled Christian Unity. That was the theme of his address to the Churchmen's Club on the night of his consecration. Shortly thereafter, he addressed the Unitarians on the same subject, urging them to be reconciled with their cognates, the Orthodox Congregationalists. That, however, would have been to them a reversion to the teachings of Emerson and Channing and an abandonment of Theodore Parker, who gave up the New Testament idea of Christ as subordinate to the Father for that of Jesus as the supreme religious leader of mankind. Slattery's main point, that like should gravitate to like, was, of course, well taken. It was slowly and painfully to be applied in not a few Protestant mergers of the future.

This idea of the gradual reintegration of similar churches, favored, incidently, by the Lambeth Conference of 1920, was thus Slattery's characteristic conception of uniting the ideal with the practical. In the General Convention of 1922, held shortly before his consecration, his idea received an acid test in the so-called Concordat with the Congregationalists. The object of this was to enable Congregationalist ministers to receive Episcopal ordination without leaving their own Fellowship and thus be authorized to minister to Episcopalians in communities where there was no Episcopal Church, or no Episcopal minister. The new Canons were impressively argued for, as well as strenuously opposed by the sacerdotal isolationists of the Church, led by Dr. Van Allen of the Church of the Advent in Boston.

"Humanly speaking, Dr. Slattery saved the day. He admitted the risks, but urged that every time a bishop ordained a man in this Church, he took a risk, and he said he knew of ministers in other churches, who, for the sake of Christian unity, would favorably consider such ordination. Doctor Slattery ended on a note so high as to lift the Convention out of the atmosphere of party strife, appealing to the chair for the saying of the Collect for Whitsunday before the roll was called. The deputies stood and a solemn hush fell as they prayed for a right judgement in all things through the aid of the Holy Spirit. The roll was then called, the votes cast and the Concordat was adopted. The Church had made a venture of faith." Actually, the Concordat as a whole passed the House of Bishops, but was approved only in part by the House of Deputies. Only three men have been so ordained.

Bishop Slattery was quite sure that a patient exhibition of conflicting ideas within loyalty to a single Master in a single communion was the way to demonstrate the future unity of all Christendom. In brief, if Episcopalians who differ from each other as much as most denominations differ, can unite in the bond of peace, so can Christendom as a whole. "Those who really see the vision of a united church of Christ are not dreaming of a great propaganda of one group who shall bring all the other groups to its ways of thought and worship. They see men of many minds, of differing temperaments, joined in the love of a Lord who understands and claims them all as His, however they fail to understand one another." As for the vexed question of truth, the thing is to know that "the truth is not what we ourselves, individually, can gather into our souls and hearts and minds, but that truth is an enormous reality, which we can tap here and there on the edges. At least we can stand before it with reverence for its mystery, asking God to show us, in some far eternity, the whole mystery, and meanwhile asking Him to give us grace to enter into its beauty."

The bishop's reverent semi-Agnosticism as to Truth would hardly meet the ideas of temperamental or ecclesiastical dogmatists, Protestant or Catholic. The bishop's point of view, that of the

Mystics, is expressed in one of his Convention Addresses: "As we face the problem of Church Unity, we must pray for imagination, for grace, for unbounded love, to put aside every preconceived idea, to open the heart wide to the influence of the Holy Spirit, asking Him and Him only to guard and protect His Church."

In 1925, Bishop Lawrence announced that on May 31 he was turning the whole administration of the Diocese over to his Coadjutor, reserving only his title. So, much was added to an already full schedule. As a result, the bishop's notebooks began to show a shrinking, even if still impressive, list of "Books Read." Instead of sermon notes, there came notes on postulants and candidates and possible recruits. New sermons dwindled. Mrs. Slattery, who accompanied her husband on all his Visitations, must have known by heart his various confirmation addresses and not a few sermons from his old homiletical quiver. However, as they were always delivered without notes, repetition always brought some freshness of phrase or illustration. Another interesting item in the notebooks was "Possible clergy for Vacant Parishes." These contained brief biographical notes, with comments on the abilities and weaknesses of the persons listed and tentative suggestions of parishes that might be suited to them. "Bishop Slattery was an unusually good judge of men, and his care to get the right men in the Diocese and have them settled in parishes for which they were suited showed farsightedness which as the years went by was increasingly vindicated by the results."*

The work of Prayer Book revision, leading up to the version of 1928, became increasingly arduous. For every word and detail had to be looked at. The changes were to be in the direction of making the book meaningful for those in the pew. Thus, said Slattery, "Baptism is lifted into the expression of God's loving care for his children; the marriage service (by ommission of "obey") makes the wife the equal of the man in privilege and responsibility; the burial service substitutes New Testament trust for Old Testament fear; aspirations of our time for social justice, good government and world brotherhood are recognized; services may be made shorter, and with hymns and sermon, may have a new force and a new unity. In a word, without ceasing to be the book of the ages, the prayer book becomes also the book of this generation."

This work was so well done that Bishop Slattery found himself the head of another Commission of the General Convention, one to revise the Lectionary. Later, Bishop Slattery had to busy himself with the revision of the Hymnal, that is of the words. The new musical edition was to come in 1940.

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* Robbins, p. 259.

How crowded the short years were might be illustrated from a couple of examples. "The note of personal religion so strongly and persistently struck in the Cathedral (under Dean Rousmaniere) meant more to Bishop Slattery than can easily be expressed. From his evangelical boyhood throughout his life, and in every phase of his ministry, this had been foremost. Not only in his books, but in his personal belief and practice he was above all things a man of prayer. . . . Now as chief pastor of a great diocese this desire was still foremost, and led him to do much for his clergy in arranging for quiet days."

Bishop Slattery knew from experience that "prayer is exceeding hard work. It is not, as the vain ones suppose, merely words or merely thoughts or merely contemplations. These are but entrances to an absorbing work. Prayer is the ruthless breaking down of selfishness; it is stiff climbing; it is rising to the majesty of the living God. Prayer means all that a man has, all that he is, all that he hopes to be; it means his whole heart. Prayer asks everything, but it gives the all-in-all."*

The summer of 1925 was spent in Hancock, New Hampshire. The "vacation" consisted chiefly in a change of scene and of work. The bishop writes to Dr. Nichols: "I have been busy all summer, letters as many as the old days in Grace Church almost; and articles for various magazines promised last winter." One of these was a vivid account of the Council of Nicaea (based possibly on the graphic picture of Dean Stanley); another was on the topic, "Why I am an Episcopalian." The bishop was always writing articles for the **Churchman,** often anonymously, as well as reviewing books as varied in theme as German theology or detective stories.

The Slatterys spent the summer of 1926 in England. Archbishops, ex-prime ministers, cathedrals, Geneva, Paris and bookstalls all got visited. Settling down for a time in Surrey, the Bishop finished his book, **"In Time of Sorrow."**

It was characteristic of the Bishop, a trait which he brought in from his parochial ministry, on every occasion to try to do as much as possible himself, so that the thing might be done right. Quiet Days for clergy and laity he usually conducted himself. He felt that the Wellesley Conference, a General Church affair, was also his personal responsibility as Conference President, and, therefore, demanded supervision even of details.

The life of a bishop is never one harmonious song. Difficulties and opposition always crop up somewhere. In Slattery's case, one such reaction was the neighborhood opposition on Beacon Hill to his scheme to enlarge the Diocesan House at 1 Joy Street by building on and adding extra stories. Law suits were threatened. Finally, the matter was adjusted and the needed additions got built.

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* Robbins, p. 278.

Bishop Slattery found the Roman service of Benediction, with its adoration of the Reserved Sacrament, a feature in certain parishes. This non-Prayer Book service really involved the Roman doctrine of Transsubstantiation or actual transformation of the wafer and wine into the heavenly body of Christ, a doctrine strongly rejected at the Reformation. The matter involved also the question of whether a priest had the right to make Roman beliefs or practices superior to those of the Anglican Communion.

The bishop consulted Bishop Parsons of California, an eminent liturgist, who gave him no help, because there he had no such problem. Bishop Hall of Vermont, a leader of the Catholic party, had solved the difficulty in his Diocese by simply forbidding the practice. One of his missionaries who persisted was summarily dismissed. He urged Slattery to bring the matter up in the House of Bishops. However, Slattery, averse on principle to heresy trials and compulsion, decided to try persuasion. The leading offender in the Diocese was called in but politely declined to comply. Slattery "began to realize that those who are foremost in magnifying the office of a bishop and invoke it to curb Broad Church irregularities show no alacrity to obey where they themselves are concerned."

Bishop Slattery was not willing to accept any candidate for Orders who did not combine moral and spiritual qualities with thorough intellectual preparation. "Some can succeed without it, but I cannot think of any men without it who would not be more effective with it. There is a certain poise and humility which come with the intellectual contacts of a good college."

"Bishop Slattery realized that humility is more likely to be associated with thorough intellectual training than with the imperfect training of the self-made man who, conscious of inferiority, makes psychological compensation in self-assertiveness."

In the matter of preaching, the Bishop held up an ideal similar to that of Phillips Brooks: Be well prepared. "Choose the text or subject Sunday night for the next Sunday; connect all the experience of the week with that sermon; read a stiff book old or new; keep a notebook for experiences, quotations, illustrations — Be sure to be interesting." "Furthermore, let the whole service be as carefully prepared for as the sermon."

In the last year of his episcopate, the bishop and his wife purchased a beautiful house at 175 Beacon Street. Domestically, it was the culmination of his dreams, a real place of refreshment. However, it was almost too late. Slattery was wearing out, unable to let go. The "happy parson" had become the careworn bishop.

In March, 1922, Bishop Lawrence had reorganized the Church Service League. One of the first duties of the new coadjutor was to coordinate the League, with its half dozen departments of varying activity, educational, charitable, missionary, etc., with the

Council set-up for the General Church inaugurated by the General Convention of 1919. In Massachusetts, as nearly everywhere else, the Diocesan Council, patterned after the National Council in New York, became the overall executive organization. In Massachusetts the Church Service League remained as an auxiliary.

The enlargement of the Diocesan House at 1 Joy Street, in Boston, which Bishop Slattery managed to effect, provided a Diocesan Library on the top floor, with offices for the Diocesan Registrar and a part-time librarian. Such ample facilities can only make the Registrars of nearly all other Episcopal Dioceses envious. In most places, there is no room in the Episcopal Inn to store valuable books and invaluable documents.

Bishop Slattery discovered, as he once remarked to the author, that every parish seeking a new rector insisted on having one between the ages of thirty and forty, when he himself often thought that the parish could do better with some one older. The March of Time, the large increase in Episcopal members, with no corresponding increase in the number of clergy, has modified the situation in the last generation. The clerical deadline seems to have inched up from forty to fifty.

In his last days Bishop Slattery was so hurried and harried that he often had to receive clerical visitors and candidates for ordination while he was busy shuffling papers and signing letters. This was a far cry from the leisurely pastorate which he had formerly practiced and loved.

When Suffragan Bishop Babcock was taken ill, Bishop Slattery insisted on taking his confirmation appointments instead of calling in outside help or doubling up somehow. A week before he died, he took over a heavy schedule, including a trip to Providence to preach at Grace Church for his brother-in-law, Appleton Lawrence. Returning home from an Ash Wednesday sermon he felt renewed pains in his chest — a sure warning. After quietly reading and writing all afternoon he went out to St. Cyprian's, Boston, for a confirmation and sermon. The next two days were spent preaching in Providence. On Friday evening he preached and confirmed his last class at Christ Church, Somerville. On Saturday morning he felt so ill that the family physician was summoned. The diagnosis was a severe heart attack. For three days the patient lay in bed very tired. On the third evening, when Mrs. Slattery went down to dinner, she was immediately summoned again by the nurse. Soon he was breathing heavily and at 7:25 Charles Lewis Slattery entered what one of his books called "Life beyond Life."

Trinity Church was filled to overflowing at the funeral, where the revised office for the Burial of the Dead, which bore so largely the marks of Slattery's hand, was used. The committal service was read at Mount Auburn Cemetery by Bishop Lawrence assisted by his two sons, Appleton and Frederic.

Memorial services were held at Grace Church, New York, Christ Church, Springfield and in the Cathedral at Faribault, which its Dean had left nearly a quarter of a century before. Messages poured in from all sorts of people, from federations and synagogues, from all over America and from across the seas. Following her husband's example, Mrs. Slattery answered fifteen hundred of these messages in her own hand.

The Bishop's successor at Grace Church, New York, Walter Russell Bowie, summed up the universal feeling in these words: "Of all the titles by which a clergyman can be called there is no more beautiful one than that of pastor, and among pastors Doctor Slattery was supreme. It was as though to the ears of his spirit there had come that voice of Jesus which long ago sounded by the sea of Galilee, 'Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these? . . . Feed my sheep'."

The Bishop's untimely death, coupled with the early deaths within a long generation of Bishops Paddock and Brooks seems to have engendered the feeling that the next bishop should be relatively young. Such a solution was almost automatically found in the election of the rector of Trinity Church, Boston, Henry Knox Sherrill, then not yet forty. He was consecrated on October 14, 1930, just twenty-three days before his fortieth birthday. The chief consecrator was the Rt. Rev. James DeWolf Perry of Rhode Island, newly elected to be Presiding Bishop of the Church. The two co-consecrators were Bishop William Lawrence and Bishop Logan H. Roots of Hankow. Eleven other bishops attended the ceremony in Trinity Church.

CHAPTER X.

The Episcopates of

Henry Knox Sherrill

1930 - 1947

and of

Norman Burdett Nash

1947 - 1956

I.

From 1891 to 1930, three men of remarkable stature and accomplishments had filled the See of Massachusetts. They had been: Phillips Brooks, the great preacher, whose brief episcopate had been the culmination of a wondrous ministry to post-Darwinian Americans; William Lawrence, the great Statesman of the Church and one of its great administrators, and Episcopal bulwark of Liberal Evangelicalism; Charles Lewis Slattery, scholar, preacher, pastor and mystic. Henry Knox Sherrill was to have a career as remarkable as theirs, as rector of Trinity Church, Boston, Bishop of Massachusetts (1930-47), Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church (1947 to 1958), and Ecumenical leader before, during and after this last office.

Bishop Sherrill, in the midst of his continued ecumenical work, may bring out an autobiography, which should be highly interesting and informative. So, only a brief history of his life and doings need find record here.

Bishop Sherrill was born in Brooklyn on November 6, 1890. Though not from a family of wealth, he attended Hotchkiss School in Connecticut and Yale University, from which he graduated in 1911, when he was still only twenty. It was at Yale that he resolved to enter the Sacred Ministry. He had been a Sunday School teacher at St. Paul's, New Haven, where James De Wolf Perry, who was later to consecrate him Bishop, was rector. Bishop Perry became diocesan in Rhode Island shortly before young Sherrill's graduation in 1911. Three years at the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge revealed him as a marked man, intellectually, spiritually and even athletically. He was the catcher on the Seminary baseball team, the pitcher of which was his classmate, another future bishop, William Appleton Lawrence.

Three years ensued as curate at Trinity Church, Boston, under Alexander Mann. Then two years as chaplain in France during World War I brought experience of another variety. From 1919 to 1923, the future bishop was rector of the genteel parish of Our Saviour in Brookline, where he wooed and won one of his young parishioners, Barbara Harris, without any of the complications often attendant on such a clerical enterprise.

Mrs. Sherrill has proved a wonderful helpmeet. Her three sons all entered the Ministry, all going to Milton Academy, Yale University and the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge. The oldest, born in 1922, is, at this writing, rector in Cincinnati, the youngest in Ipswich, Massachusetts, while the middle son, Edmund Knox Sherrill, at the age of thirty-four, was, on January 25, 1959, consecrated missionary bishop of Central Brazil where he had gone as a missionary after two years as curate at Christ Church, Cambridge. His father was the consecrator.

In 1923, when Alexander Mann left Trinity Church, Boston, to be Bishop of Pittsburgh, the Vestry's choice for Rector was their former curate. The choice soon approved itself. Congregations were large and edified. Activities were many. The young rector, for instance, never hesitated to conscript debutantes as waitresses at church suppers. The communicant list at Trinity Church during the lush twenties was larger than it ever has been before or since. So, in a Diocese where half the clergy were graduates of E. T. S., it was inevitable that most of them, as well as many others, should desire to continue the Liberal Evangelical tradition of the Diocese and elect its foremost parochial representative as its Head.

When Henry Sherrill became Bishop of Massachusetts, America was on the threshold of great changes. In the Twenties, the country, as a whole, was trying, in provincial slumber, to forget the ugly dream that it had discovered in World War I, known as Europe. It is now discovering Asia and Africa in an even more frightening form.

Internally, America was also on the threshold of changes that had long been preparing themselves. The Thirties were to witness Big Labor and Big Government emerging out of the vasty Deep and arraying themselves alongside Big Business, once the pet bugbear of Theodore Roosevelt. Another Harvard Roosevelt (not at all popular among Harvard Men), was to be the focus around which the limited Welfare State, now characteristic of America, was to shape itself. (The present writer, at a Harvard class dinner, once heard a classmate, a Boston banker, bark out the statement that the United States had not had a decent President since Calvin Coolidge).

America was progressively entering another Industrial Revolution, that of mass production and the assembly line, symbolized by the name of Henry Ford. In 1929, the Stock Market Crash introduced the greatest Depression of the seventeen which have come since the American Revolution. The great ship America managed, however, to navigate the swirling currents without shipping over much water. How fared the little bark known as the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts? Equally well.

Bishop Sherrill entered his episcopate at a time when the Great Depression was casting its lengthening shades over the land. No one then realized how long the financial night was to last. Economy and even retrenchment had to be the watchword of the new administration, without forgetting the needs of the General Church, which Bishop Perry was then guiding in a sort of strategic retreat.

In New York expenses were cut chiefly by not engaging new workers in the domestic and foriegn field and by omitting replacements when vacancies occurred. In large parishes, curates were not engaged or not replaced. In small parishes, clergymen often had to wait for or to cut their salaries. One poor parish in Boston

was at one time two years in arrears in its rector's salary. Yet the Diocese of Massachusetts, as a whole, did pull through financially rather well, at least as compared with other places.

The paucity of money postponed to a later day various projects which the Bishop had in mind. The paucity of ministers and candidates for the Ministry, which was a lament in the early Twenties, was no longer mentioned in the Thirties. Seminaries were graduating more men and the parishes absorbing fewer. Men who for any reason were displaced, especially if they were older ones, became Episcopal problems. Bishop Sherril had four or five such men on his hands at one time. As an illustration of the abundance of candidates for "desirable" parishes, we may cite St. Mark's, Fall River, in 1935. When Bishop Sherrill came to a conference with the Vestry, he discovered that they had some fifty names on their list. He told them to forget every candidate from outside the Diocese and to choose from four men he pointed out. Thereupon William H. Deacon of St. Luke's, Malden, was chosen, who later succeeded Frederic Lawrence at St. Peter's, Cambridge, and still later, Archie Crowley at Grace Church, Lawrence. For some time Bishop Sherrill, as far as he could, kept Massachusetts vacancies for Massachusetts men. The following table of statistics will give a birdseye view of the outward growth of the Diocese in the seventeen years of the Sherrill administration and the nine years of Bishop Nash.

STATISTICAL TABLE — DIOCESE OF MASSACHUSETTS
1927 - 1957

	1927	1931	1936	1941	1946	1951	1956
Parishes	214	217	218	209	207	199	201
Clergy	263	261	260	273	266	266	286
Communicants	64,581	68,510	72,459	75,817	78,226	78,789	80,745
Baptisms	3,476	3,113	2,795	3,014	3,954	4,024	4,122
Confirmations	3,398	3,358	3,237	3,002	3,328	2,966	3,811
Church School Pupils	22,022	23,279	23,172	21,899	19,996	24,607	31,339
Contributions	$2,201,120	2,436,551	2,132,698	2,178,478	3,273,198	3,681,326	4,977,148

In 1930, the Church in America, as well as in the country as a whole, had come to a new period in its growth. In 1830, only one person out of 415 could be reckoned as a communicant of the Episcopal Church, according to the figures given in the Episcopal Church Annuals. A century later the ratio was 1 in 97. That is, the Episcopal Church had grown four times as fast in a century as a fast growing country. After 1930 the story was quite different. In the twenty years between 1930 and 1950 the proportion of Episcopalians had climbed from 1 in 97 to only 1 in 92. In fact, between 1900 and 1950, when the country's population had doubled, from 75,000,000 to 150,000,000, the rise in communicants had been only from 1 in 120 to 1 in 92. The 742,569 communicants of 1900 had a

little more than doubled to 1,640,101. By 1962, when both Census and Church figures become available, the indications are that the Episcopal proportion of communicants to people will be something like 1 in 90. In New England alone Church School youngsters rose from 62,000 to 93,000 from 1950 to 1957, whereas 62,000 is the approximate figure for both 1930 and 1950. The population explosion has really hit the Episcopal Church in New England as elsewhere.

With this much as a background, we may scrutinize more closely the statistics in the table given above. In the fifteen out of seventeen years of the Sherrill administration, running from 1931 to 1946, communicants rose by nearly 10,000, from 68,510 to 78,226. In the next decade, the gain was only a little over 2,000, from 78,226 to 80,745. The basic reason? The rapid population changes fostered and furthered by World War II and its aftermath.

The figures for baptisms between 1927 and 1946 show somewhat of a drop, reflecting, in a reduced mesaure, the lower birthrate of the Depression period, when many an elementary classroom was closed for lack of children. The small decrease in baptisms would suggest that Episcopalians were still addicted to the one-child family — an idea now obviously going out of fashion.

The table shows only a minimal drop in Confirmations during the Sherrill period. A little later they were to rise.

Church School registration showed a sharp drop between 1931 and 1946, 23,279 down to 19,996. Since then, recovery in Church Schools has been almost everywhere remarkable. Compare the 19,996 of 1946 with the 33,227 of 1957, and the increasing figures of subsequent years.

Bishop Sherrill was particularly intent that Massachusetts fully support the work of the General Church. As the Depression lifted, paying the National quota almost became a habit, not, however, without vigorous propulsion from the Bishop. He did not hesitate, when he thought a parish was not fulfilling its missionary capacity, to call in the Vestry and set forth their duty.

The Bishop likewise participated vigorously in the work of the National Council and of General Convention. Presiding Bishop Henry St. George Tucker made him his Assessor or assistant in the House of Bishops and gave him various assignments in war areas during World War II. The result was that Henry Knox Sherrill became the almost inevitable choice in the General Convention of 1946 for the office of Presiding Bishop. The outstanding leader of an outstanding Diocese became the Executive Head of the General Church. He was also, at fifty-six, with a long Episcopal experience behind him, young enough to serve twelve years before mandatory retirement at sixty-eight.

So, after sixteen years, the Diocese of Massachusetts had to choose a successor to Bishop Sherrill. He had asked for a Coadjutor. Norman Burdett Nash, then rector of St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire, and for many years previous a professor at the Cambridge Seminary was elected. Dr. Nash was two years older than the man he succeeded early in 1947.

II.

The Episcopate of

NORMAN BURDETT NASH

1947 to 1956

Bishop Nash came from an ancestry that combined New England scholarship and the Episcopal Ministry. His father was Henry Sylvester Nash, for some thirty years New Testament professor at the Cambridge Seminary, a man of profound spirituality, as well as scholarship, and a noted preacher. Bishop Nash has lived all but some ten years of his life in close proximity to the Seminary, although he was born in Maine, the long-time summer home of the Nash family, on June 5, 1888.

The Bishop's career closely parallels that of many an English bishop of past generations — graduation with honors from Oxford or Cambridge, a theological professorship combined perhaps with a small country parish, with, possibly, some executive experience as head master of a noted Boys School. In the case of Bishop Nash, it was graduation from Harvard in 1909, at the age of twenty-one, and from the Cambridge Seminary six years later, after a three year preoccupation with other things. From 1916 to 1939, Bishop Nash was assistant professor of the New Testament and then professor of Christian Social Ethics at Cambridge. He further followed the English pattern of pre-episcopacy by being rector of rural St. Anne's, Lincoln, Massachusetts, from 1916 to 1923, and rector of St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire, from 1939 to 1947. He was consecrated Bishop Coadjutor of Massachusetts on February 14, 1947, succeeding Bishop Sherrill as Diocesan on June 1.

Bishop Sherrill, as Presiding Bishop, officiated as chief consecrator for the first time out of sixty subsequent occasions in his twelve years in office. John Thomson Dallas, Bishop Nash's Diocesan in New Hampshire, and William Appleton Lawrence of Western Massachusetts were co-consecrators. Seven other bishops, all but one of the straightest sect of Cambridge Churchmanship, took part in the service. Ten more bishops were present and signed their names to the consecrating testimonials. Bishop Angus Dun, of Washington, former Dean of Cambridge, was the preacher.

Bishop Nash is a man of varied interests. In the nine years of his episcopate he made himself felt in many directions. Thus, in Roman Catholic Boston, he was a stout advocate of planned parenthood. Nor did he retreat before the strong McCarthyism of his See city. Two of his clergy, who got involved in "guilt by association," he exonerated after investigation.

One development in the life of the Church which he deplored was the tendency of bishops to make their dioceses after one ecclesiastical pattern. Bishop Nash does not believe in what he termed "monochrome" dioceses. In Massachusetts, for instance, the service of Benediction, outlawed in other dioceses by more "catholic" bishops than he, is still here and there used. He has not even attempted, like Bishop Slattery, to get "advanced parishes" to stick to the Prayer Book.

Bishop Nash has also been a stout defender of the rights of the Episcopal laity as against Episcopal absolutism, particularly as exemplified in the case of Holy Trinity Church, Brooklyn, for a century a citadel of liberalism in the American Church. The refusal of the Bishop of the Diocese to consent to the election of the assistant rector to the rectorship and the prompt election of a nominee favored by the Bishop by a "rump" vestry aroused Bishop Nash's indignation. He was successful in getting his diocesan Convention to back his public stand. However, nothing much happened at General Convention, the House of Bishops being even more reluctant than the Senate of the United States to censure one of its members. An interesting parallel instance was in the case of a neighboring New England diocese. The Bishop of this diocese, noting that the State Council of Churches was meeting on the same day as his Diocesan Convention, invited the Council members to come and receive Communion at his opening service. A mid-western diocesan Convention promptly took it up as a case of public "disloyalty" to the Church and preferred charges. What happened? The accused Bishop was reminded not to stretch "ecumenicity" too far, and the accusing diocese was reminded that the Book of Worship of the Episcopal Church was the Book of Common Prayer.

Bishop Nash's scholarly interests brought him into theological committees of the Anglican Communion, where he held his own with learned bishops of English Sees.

Despite these interests the Bishop worked hard at his diocesan tasks. A rector, who came into the Diocese about the time of Bishop Stokes' consecration as Coadjutor, remarked to the present writer that he had seen various bishops close at hand, but had seen none who worked as hard as Bishops Nash and Stokes.

If the episcopate of Henry Knox Sherrill covered the years of the Great Depression and the slow recovery from its effects, that of Norman Burdett Nash included the years subsequent to World War II, with the consequent dislocations of population. The changing city and the exodus to the suburbs brought a double set of

problems to the fore. The Episcopal communicants of Boston lost a third of their numbers between the peak of 1927 and the low of 1957, the greatest city decreases occuring between 1947 and 1957, the years of the Nash episcopate. Though the churches of the immediate suburbs grew greatly, the greater Boston total of 1957 barely exceeded that of 1927, the last year of Bishop Lawrence. While the folk of Anglo-Saxon stock, the principal source of Episcopal population, grew relatively fewer, Roman Catholics, Jews and Orthodox increased considerably throughout New England as a whole. Thus, in 1930, as witness the following table of Provincial statistics, communicants in New England were 184,041; in 1950, 226,321; in 1957, only 237,536.

PROVINCIAL STATISTICS 1930 — 1950 — 1957

	COMMUNICANTS 1930	POPULATION 1930	COMMUNICANT PROPORTION 1930	COMMUNICANTS 1950	POPULATION 1950	COMMUNICANT PROPORTION 1950	CHURCH SCHOOL PUPILS 1930	1950	1957
Province I	184,041	8,165,842	1 : 45	226,321	9,314,453	1 : 41	62,082	62,868	93,898
Province II	338,481	16,612,123	1 : 49	383,481	21,465,300	1 : 54	112,056	105,518	136,608
Province III	250,169	13,920,444	1 : 55	291,304	21,225,428	1 : 70	103,925	93,951	130,013
Province IV	121,311	21,276,582	1 : 170	180,177	27,456,836	1 : 105	57,306	66,764	111,545
Province V	168,530	21,319,060	1 : 107	213,816	30,400,368	1 : 104	56,809	60,403	98,521
Province VI	71,811	9,593,290	1 : 103	93,341	10,408,078	1 : 101	24,479	23,964	40,967
Province VII	61,833	14,266,371	1 : 201	120,466	16,325,095	1 : 103	21,200	37,877	70,170
Province VIII	82,957	9,951,679	1 : 112	154,022	13,822,638	1 : 90	34,719	67,985	104,086
Totals	1,261,167	115,105,391	1 : 97	1,663,232	150,697,361	1 : 92	472,576	519,327	726,342

In other words, there was a considerable increase in Episcopal population from 1930 to 1950, with the proportion of communicants to population rising from 1 in 45, to 1 in 41. On the other hand, from 1950 to 1957, increase was very small in New England, though large in other places. The second Province comprising the dioceses in New York and New Jersey even suffered a loss. The most spectacular absolute gains were in the Pacific Coast area (Province VIII). From 1930 to 1950, the population there increased over 50%, and the Episcopal proportion rose from 1 in 112 to 1 in 90. This splendid showing is doubtless due in part to the fact that migration to the Pacific Coast followed more or less the pattern of the country, one Roman to four non-Romans. In New England, and in the East generally, immigration proportions were far different, Roman Catholics, Jews and Orthodox largely preponderating. The above table would seem to confirm the thesis of Dr. Walter H. Stowe, the historiographer of the Episcopal Church, that our Communion grows best in settled Nordic soil. Thus, in Province IV (the deep South), the proportion of Episcopalians rose from 1 in 170 to 1 in 105, from 1930 to 1950. In Province VII, the country from Kansas and Missouri south through Texas, where the old stock is relatively the strongest in the country, the rise was even greater, from 1 in 201 in 1930 to 1 in 103 in 1950.

With this much as background, it is explicable that the Church in New England as a whole, and in Massachusetts in particular, should show little growth, absolute or relative, and possibly by 1960, register a small proportionate decline. The New England proportion of 1 in 41, more than double that of the country as a whole, might well be 1 in 42 or 43 in 1960, but probably not a decline as severe as that in Provinces II and III from 1930 to 1950, where communicants in Province II decreased from 1 in 49 to 1 in 54, and in Province III from 1 in 55 to 1 in 70.

If the Diocese of Massachusetts barely held the line in communicants from 1946 to 1956, the number of baptisms and of Church School youngsters increased greatly. In 1956, for instance, Confirmations (3811) were nearly the highest on record. The year 1957 saw baptisms rise still more, from 4122 to 4395, and confirmations from 3811 to 3924. The 60% increase in Church School population which took place in the Diocese between 1946 and 1957, from 19,996 to 33,227, was beginning to make itself felt. The accompany-phenomenon of a little decline in communicants from 1956 to 1957, from 80,745 down to 79,805, despite nearly 4,000 confirmations, shows the other aspect of the statistical tide. Many Episcopalians are leaving the State to find better economic opportunities elsewhere, while Episcopal families are growing larger. How these two contrary movements will work out in the years to come must be left to some future statistician to record.

Financially, the Diocese prospered from 1946 to 1956, the rise in receipts from $3,273,198 to $4,977,148 being greater than the

rise in the price index in the same period. In the nine years of the Nash episcopate the Diocese moved forward somewhat, if only a little in communicant gains, very much in baptisms, confirmations, contributions, new building and Church School enrollment.

In 1954, with the retirement of Bishop Heron as suffragan, Bishop Nash called for a coadjutor to be his own successor erelong. Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., rector of St. Bartholomew's Church in New York city, was the final choice in the fifth ballot, the early leading contenders, the Rev. Gardiner M. Day of Christ Church, Cambridge, and the Rev. Samuel Whitney Hale of the Church of the Advent, Boston, never coming within 70% of a majority in either Order. Father Hale withdrew his name after the fourth ballot, most of his votes evidently going to Dr. Stokes. The final ballot showed 65 clerical and 53 lay votes for Dr. Day, Dr. Stokes polling 102 and 85.

On November 1, 1956, shortly after his sixty-eighth birthday, Bishop Nash resigned his jurisdiction to his coadjutor. Two days after his retirement, Bishop Sherrill appointed him to the oversight of the American Episcopal congregations on the continent of Europe, in which post he served for some three years, making his main residence in Cambridge.

Bishop Stokes, like his Yale predecessor, Henry Sherrill, seemed destined by heredity, capacity and varied experience for the episcopate. His father, Anson Phelps Stokes, a scion of a wealthy New York family, graduated from Yale and E. T. S. For most of his working life he served as Secretary of Yale University, becoming in time an authority on the history of Church-State relations. He has written a substantial and authoritative volume in this field, as well as numerous other publications.

Bishop Stokes was born in New Haven on January 11, 1905. After graduation from St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire, he spent the year of 1922-23 at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, England. Then came the four years at Yale, with a subsequent year there as Y.M.C.A. secretary. After one year at E. T. S. he spent another year travelling in Russia, Japan, China, India and Palestine, graduating from the Cambridge Seminary in 1932.

The Bishop's pastoral experience has been in widely scattered places. After four years of religious work in New Haven, Boston and Cambridge in connection with his theological studies, he was curate and associate rector in St. Mark's parish, Shreveport, Louisiana. Thence he was called to the important parish of Trinity Church, Columbus, Ohio, where he stayed from 1937 to 1945. His marriage to Miss Hope Procter, of the well-known Procter family of Cincinnati, took place in July 1, 1943. From 1945 to 1950 he was rector of the Cathedral parish of St. Andrew's in Honolulu. When one of the great parishes of the Church, St. Bartholomew's, New York City, was looking for a new rector, the choice fell on him. The

new surge of life he gave the old and wealthy parish brought him to the attention of dioceses looking for a bishop. In 1952, he declined to have his name used in the Episcopal election in Rhode Island. Four years later, he was persuaded to allow his name to be entered in Massachusetts. On December 4, 1954, he was consecrated coadjutor, becoming diocesan two years later.

Bishop Sherrill as Presiding Bishop was Chief Consecrator. The co-consecrators were the diocesan, Bishop Nash, and a former diocesan, Bishop Hobson of Southern Ohio. The preacher was Bishop Donegan of New York. Four other bishops, likewise graduates of Cambridge, took part in the service, while seven others were in the procession.

Six months later, at the 1955 Convention, Bishop Nash had this to say concerning his coadjutor, with whom he shared the work of the Diocese on a more or less equal basis: "Since the inspiring Consecration Service on December 4, 1954, his friendliness, keenness, good sense and zest have commended him to us all as he has gone about the Diocese. He has proved himself an invaluable helper, and I have great confidence in the leadership he will give when he becomes the Diocesan authority." The verdict after six months remains the same after six years.

The new episcopate still has the same problems that arose in that of Bishop Nash, those of suburban expansion and of city recession. Since the proportion of Churchmen to population is twice as large in Massachusetts as in the country as a whole, Episcopalians leaving Massachusetts are bound to be more numerous than those who come in. Again, the suburban exodus puts the Episcopalians in a new environment, where they are likely to go to whatever Church in which they make friends or the children make friends. These last two factors help to account for the leakage of communicants of which Bishop Nash complained. It would seem that it is only the larger Episcopal family that to-day keeps the communicant number up in Massachusetts.

The city recession, however, is a major problem. Boston lost a third of its Episcopal communicant numbers from 1927 to 1957, a greater loss than in any other New England city. With only three or four exceptions, the proportion of communicants to people has fallen in every New England city of any size, even when the communicant list still retains its former total.

The situation in Boston, as in other large American cities is high-lighted by a recent article in the Christian Century (Sept. 1959) by G. Norman Eddy, entitled "The Challenge of the Store-Front Church." Speaking of Boston, Eddy says that he found thirty such congregations within a mile of a large Protestant Church. This must have been a largely non-Roman neighborhood, for Eddy asserts that the store-front church does not get far in a Roman neighborhood. When he asked one member of such a con-

gregation why he did not go to the big church nearby, his answer was: "What would I be there?" In other words, a sense of belonging and of status, reinforced by all sorts of titles and medals, is found in such a store-front church, with often the promise of a superior status in the hereafter.

The Diocese, is keenly aware of these two problems, and is making far-reaching plans for a solution. Thus, recently, a thorough survey, headed by an expert from the National Council, was made of the Diocese and of possible openings and opportunities. The recommendation was that new work be started in twenty-five more communities in the Diocese. Likewise, the Diocese is planning to raise $250,000, to do more effective work among the unchurched in the cities, particularly Boston.

III.

Epilogue
by
BISHOP STOKES

Due to the indefatigable energy of Dr. Tyng, this volume has presented a picture of the general lines of growth and development of the diocese of Massachusetts. As one seeks to sketch contemporary developments and future hopes, it is sometimes harder to keep a perspective. Living close as we do to the very real personal problems of the diocese and the great over-arching problems of our contemporary world, we are perhaps less inclined to be either encouraged or discouraged by statistics. We are aware of moral and spiritual needs. What can we say of the present and of the future, particularly of the 1960s on which we are launched?

To pick up for a moment the matter of statistics where they were left by Dr. Tyng, we can say that the diocese is making slow (painfully slow) but steady growth. We are now, in the matter of baptized persons, the largest diocese in the Church, trailing only New York and Pennsylvania in the matter of communicants. However, younger dioceses are far exceeding us in the matter of growth, and in the statistics representing new life. These are such places as Michigan, Los Angeles, and even some nearer home where imaginative leadership, the growth of population, or other factors are producing marked increases. We stood at the end of 1959 with 82,097 communicants and 143,884 baptized persons and 35,123 church school pupils. Interestingly enough, in this latter category we seem to be staying ahead of both New York and Pennsylvania, although Los Angeles is exceeding us.

Rather than dwell on statistics, it is more profitable to look at particular areas and at the ways in which the diocese is meeting or seeking to meet their particular needs. Very exciting situations are, of course, those in rapidly growing areas. Starting with St. John's in Westwood in 1953, there seems to have been a surge in new churches: St. Paul's, Bedford was organized in 1955. Trinity, Topsfield-Boxford, St. Peter's, South Dartmouth and St. Luke's, Scituate were all started in 1957. Good Shepherd, Acton and St. Mark's, Burlington began in 1958, and St. Michael's, Holliston in in 1959. Significantly, each of these churches is within the commuting area of Boston lately opened up by Route 128, with the exception of St. Peter's, South Dartmouth, which is just outside of New Bedford.

However, the establishment of these new churches, two of which have already become self-supporting parishes, does not tell the whole story in areas of growth. Many small town churches which

previously in some cases had only part-time leadership and which in many cases barely continued to hold their own or were even slipping in membership, now find themselves the centers of new growth. They are not new missions in the literal sense. Some indeed are parishes. They have plants in varying degrees of adequacy, but they are mushrooming into new activity, requiring the adjustment of the old parishioners to the new concept of a growing church, as well as the adjustment of the old plants and the old budgets to the new influx. In a few cases we have full-time resident clergy for the first time, often with diocesan assistance, such as St. John's, Sandwich, Our Saviour, Somerset, Trinity, Marshfield (a very old church which has sprung to new life and been relocated in a new building), Christ Church, Medway, St. Paul's, Millis, St. Mary's, Rockport, St. John's, Holbrook, and many others. Many of them have required financial assistance from the diocese. Some, however, were strong missions or parishes which have simply become stronger and more crowded — such as those at Lynnfield, Peabody, Lexington, Needham and countless others.

To guide this whole development in growing areas, the Archdeacons of New Bedford and Lowell have been put on full-time basis and are increasingly helping the bishops not only with the establishment of new missions and the guidance of missions churches, but in the guidance of all growing churches, whether they be missions or parishes. The Department of Missions is seeking to make careful studies of needs for new churches and is finding very helpful the research and strategy services of the Massachusetts Council of Churches, which enables careful and objective surveys to be made. Our regular loan funds, which now amount to about $100,000, are pushed to the fullest capacity. A further fund of $100,000 for that purpose is being set up out of a legacy and a further $150,000, from the same generous source (given in 1959) to be used for grants. Grants are made particularly for the purchase of land as well as for capital expenditures. We are increasingly aware that we must be forehanded in securing the right ocations. The people of Massachusetts are moving to new areas and the Church must be there to meet them. There are now only two or three churches which can in any sense be called really rural churches. Almost all our "country churches" are acquiring some of the characteristics of suburbia in greater or less degree. To meet the challenge will probably require considerable thought and financing, probably from diocesan funds.

Another area stressed in the recent Diocesan Survey is the unusually strategic opportunity of the inner city. Our old parishioners may have moved away, but there are more people in the neighborhood of our city churches than ever before — they simply are not the kind who were normally expected to be Episcopalians in the old days! Here is another challenge for the immediate future. Some of these areas, particularly in the city of Boston, are definitely depressed areas, with crowding and all the problems of changing and often decaying community life. Here it is the privilege of the

Episcopal Church to minister. For one reason or another we have not moved away. We are there and can extend a helping and welcoming hand. The new populations represent people of many racial strains. In many cases they are Negroes, and many parishes which once were all White are now mixed White and Negro and there are instances in which the church schools and youth groups are chiefly Negro in composition. In some areas Puerto Ricans and others are moving in. These are "the ports of entry" to our cities. It was in these teeming areas that Roman Catholicism made its first impact which resulted in its great present influence in the state. Many of these people "take to" the Episcopal Church naturally. The beauty of our liturgy gives brightness to their drab lives and churches are seeking to meet their social and spiritual needs.

A new "sense of mission" has come to the "urban priests." The Archdeacon of Boston is devoting full-time to guiding this work and to the Episcopal City Mission, so closely related to it. The clergy are in many instances meeting together for worship and planning and mutual encouragement. They have a sense of vocation such as those who first discovered the opportunities of "college work" had a generation ago. It is a new frontier of the Church. In Boston many of our clergy are living in these areas. In the mill towns similar problems have often developed. The inner city is one of our greatest opportunities demanding spiritual reality (for people will not come to church for less worthy reasons), social insight, community leadership, and general missionary dedication. We are now engaged in a campaign for capital funds to equip more adequately some of those churches. Continuing budgetary help will be needed also, because many of these churches will not, in the foreseeable future, be self-supporting. Missionary work work must continue to be missionary in every sense of the word here.

In connection with both the areas mentioned above, a heartening development has been the sense of responsibility with which well established churches are helping in the establishment of new churches and in the development of the work in the inner city. Both St. Mary's, Barnstable and St. Barnabas', Falmouth, helped make possible a full-time resident priest at Sandwich. Orleans has helped make possible a resident priest at Provincetown. St. Andrew's, Wellesley, has helped the work at St. John's, Roxbury Crossing. St. John's, Beverly Farms is making possible the securing of an assistant at St. James', Roxbury. Trinity, Concord helped get the missions at Acton and Bedford started. Christ Church, Hamilton helped launch the church at Topsfield. Grace Church, Newton, is helping to provide a ministry at St. Margaret's, Brighton. Countless other examples could be sighted of an encouraging cross-fertilization between churches in differing situations all over the diocese, leading to a greater consciousness of our common membership in one Church.

While it is easy to pick out the rapidly growing areas and the inner city as a striking example of challenging opportunities, it is

important to remember that these are not the only challenging areas. People need the Church's ministrations wherever they are. Equally important are some of the churches which are neither in growing nor in shrinking areas. Some of them are great metropolitan churches barely holding their own numerically as they reach new people, train them in the faith and then see them move out. Others are in small pockets untouched particularly by trends of population, where just a few old families hang on but need the ministry. Others are in some older suburbs like Newton, where Jewish and Roman Catholic people are moving in. Often, though many faithful parishioners move away yet there is still a group of people to be ministered to and many who are unchurched. The needs of people are the same everywhere, and matters even of physical growth are determined to an amazing degree not by the circumstances of population trends of the area, but by the vision and energy of the parish and its clerical leadership. Some areas which have no signs of the problems of growth on the one hand and yet are not areas of great social problems on the other, are nevertheless the areas where the ministry is most demanding of imagination, devotion and ability. Being an old diocese, we have many static areas. They represent a real challenge. People must be won there by a definite appeal. They will not "pour in" because they are newcomers looking for a church home nor will they be drawn to us by ghastly problems of their environment. In many such areas our clergy are finding new opportunities to serve institutions, nursing homes, etc., and are giving themselves to community enterprises often in an ecumenical approach. They may have the opportunity to go more deeply in their ministrations than do the overly-pressed clergy in suburbs or in areas of social need.

All this means there must be a new emphasis on the life of our churches. The diocesan survey not only gave us general information and strategic lines along which to work. In this diocese it was made relevant to every situation by special diocesan recommendations made up with the help of the departments and applicable to each particular parish, dealing with program, participation by the laity, Christian education, evangelism, etc. As a result, "follow-up committees" in many churches of all types and kinds have implemented the recommendations of the survey, having been stirred to a new consciousness of their own needs by the process of the survey itself. We are now about to launch in 1961 on a management survey, recognizing that our diocesan organization itself must minister more helpfully and effectively in the 1960s to the growing needs of the parishes around us.

The task of the Church is not, however, only one of organization and program. In the 1960s it will be a task of faith, vision, and courage. In the 1950s, as people began to realize the awful implications of the atomic age, there was a "return to religion." We cannot take such a return to religion for granted in the 1960s. Some of those who returned to their old churches have not been satisfied.

Some returned only out of momentary fear. Some of them have have found no real relevance in the Church to the situation in which they live today. A new spirit and approach must be made. In the past decade in the area of Christian education our National Council led us into a new emphasis on the corporate life of the Church. This has been well implemented in the diocese of Massachusetts. We are coming to realize that the Church is part of the gospel and its life is relevant to its message. We still have much to do to make Church life one in which there is a really redemptive process. Perhaps the next decade will find us reaching beyond the parish boundaries to make sure that Christian people are concerned for the world around them. We cannot merely comfort men amidst the problems of today. The challenge before us is to strengthen them within the Church, that then they may go forth from the Church to give meaning and new direction to the life of our present age. The real growth of the Church cannot be measured statistically alone. It must increasingly lie in terms of parish life, the conviction and commitment of people and the relationship tof what we say and do and are to the situations in which we are called to live and work. To this we are called as a diocese. Yet we are not alone. We must work, as we are led, with the spiritual forces in our Commonwealth as well as express the deepest heritage of our particular communion as it has come to us in this place and from our world-wide and age-old heritage. Our future depends on our fidelity to God.

Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr.
August 1960

APPENDIX I.

Statistical Tables

with

Brief Comments

Such statistics as have appeared in the foregoing text make clear that Episcopal growth in America has been four times as fast as burgeoning population increase. In 1830, only one person in 430 was a communicant of the Episcopal Church; in 1950, the ratio was one in 92. What the ratio will be in the country as a whole, in 1960 depends on church statistics not yet available. The Episcopal Church Annual will not have the totals until about January, 1962. The Census totals, on the country, are now reasonably complete, however, the following table, giving Massachusetts statistics through 1958, shows the drift of the population tide. Massachusetts' population in the 1950-60 decade increased by a good 30% from something over 3,000,000 to something less than 4,000,000. No such advance is visible in the number of communicants or of baptized persons in either of the Massachusetts dioceses. The number of Sunday School youngsters has increased about 30% in both dioceses. In the Massachusetts Diocese, total financial receipts have gone up about 60%, and in the western diocese about 80%. The statistics of 1960, when available, are not likely radically to alter these proportions.

In Connecticut, where population increase has been about 25%, money receipts have nearly doubled, Church Schools have gone up by over 50%, baptisized persons about 14%, and communicants by about 10%. (See Episcopal Church Annuals for 1952 and 1960.)

In Rhode Island, where population growth has been small and where claimed Roman Catholic membership has gone up from 55% to 61%, in ten years, the Episcopal Church has been virtually stationary. An increase of 5% in baptized persons, a slight recession in communicants and a 30% increase in Church Schools and in financial receipts is all. Even there Rhode Island Churchmen number in all categories, almost as many, and give almost as much as the Churchmen of the three northern dioceses of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont put together. Nevertheless, statistics would indicate that the Episcopalians of sparsely populated Northern New England do, proportianately, slightly better than those of the populous South, where Rome makes its largest gains.

STATISTICS 1950 — 1958

DIOCESE OF MASSACHUSETTS

	1950	1954	1956	1958
Baptized	123,545	128,379	135,317	142,817
Communicants	80,257	78,028	80,745	80,876
Church School	23,381	27,869	31,339	34,316
Receipts	$3,475,183	$4,760,910	$4,977,178	$5.600,504

DIOCESE OF WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS

	1950	1954	1956	1958
Baptized	32,500	34,538	35,942	36,955
Communicants	18,542	19,543	20,544	21,212
Church School	5,979	6,681	8,792	8,374
Receipts	$ 922,068	$1,411,568	$1,790,912	$1,743,139

More detailed statistics, covering the parishes of the Diocese, now follow. Since they name only communicant totals, over the century of 1857 to 1957, they present individually a little less bright picture than those dealing with Church School enrollment and financial increase.

I.

The statistical story of the Episcopal churches in the city of Boston is soon told. In 1857, their total communicants, in fifteen parishes, numbered 2610, or 1 in 50 of the population. In 1957, thirty-one churches reported a total of 10,371, or 1 person in 70. In 1927, Episcopalians reached their peak of 16,436 communicants in 34 parishes. As the ensuing table will show, there was a slow decline from 1927 to 1942, and a 33 percent drop from 1942 to 1957.

BOSTON PARISHES — 1857 - 1957

	1857	1882	1897	1912	1927	1942	1957
1. St. Paul's Cathedral	310	299	450	542	1022	488	430
2. Advent	414	—	533	1246	850	780	1113
3. All Saints, Dorchester	—	137	513	795	1162	1096	737
4. Christ, Hyde Park	—	110	—	450	388	468	556
5. Christ, North End	97	19	150	60	86	45	6
6. Emmanuel	—	328	650	950	1048	1261	257
7. Emmanuel, Roxbury	—	—	74	254	451	645	522
8. Epiphany, Dorchester	—	—	—	273	402	228	205
9. Good Shepherd	—	280	297	225	74	83	90
10. Grace, E. Boston	—	—	—	—	—	—	104
11. Grace, S. Boston	200	125	140	332	185	180	125
12. Holy Spirit, Mattapan	—	—	55	330	634	719	562
13. Our Saviour, Roslindale	—	—	120	278	625	854	822
14. St. Andrews (Deaf)	—	—	25	31	132	—	67
15. St. Ann's, Dorchester	—	—	150	169	200	156	121
16. St. Augustine and * St. Martin	—	—	110	302	462	472	461
17. St. James, Roxbury	130	275	320	375	313	353	182
18. St. John the Evangelist	—	80	400	578	1000	885	660
19. St. John's, Charlestown	167	325	350	350	265	209	82
20. St. John's, E. Boston	—	75	250	550	435	225	174
21. St. John's, Tremont St.	44	300	300	543	354	273	214
22. St. John's, Jamaica Plain	90	264	442	480	527	531	352
23. St. Luke's, Allston	—	—	118	129	360	450	402
24. St. Cyprian's	—	—	—	—	727	1144	862
25. St. Margaret's, Brighton	—	95	199	80	182	192	86
26. St. Mark's, Dorchester	40	225	—	255	344	307	136
27. St. Mary's, Dorchester	24	150	276	400	498	407	224
28. St. Matthew's and * the Redeemer, S. Boston	77	450	643	1052	514	470	216
29. St. Peter's	—	—	200	200	324	208	149
30. St. Stephen's	175	8	477	635	302	200	52
31. Trinity	360	1000	1350	1810	1531	1898	1472
32. †Messiah	261	350	210	330	—	—	—
33. †Grace, Boston	200	125	—	—	—	—	—
34. †Ascension	—	—	259	584	479	386	—
35. †St. Francis of Assisi	—	—	—	—	81	74	—
36. †St. Andrew's, E. Boston	—	—	—	—	167	—	—
37. †St. Ansgarius	—	—	306	466	483	386	—
38. †St. Mary's for Sailors, E. Boston	21	68	47	325	129	—	—
Total for all Parishes	2610	5088	9595	14379	16436	15073	10371

* Once separate parishes.

† Parishes now extinct.

II.

The Boston suburbs, here defined as the twenty cities and towns immediately surrounding the city, in 1857 had 724 communicants in ten parishes, located in seven of these twenty communities. Newton had three little churches, Brookline, Cambridge, Chelsea, Dedham, Medford, Melrose and Waltham one each. It is hardly an accident that Newton has now the densest concentration of Episcopalians in the State, its eight parishes gaining nearly 600 communicants from 1942 to 1957, despite the fact that Grace, St. Paul's and Trinity had considerable numerical recessions.

As the ensuing table will show, this area grew enormously in population and Episcopal membership in a century, from 724 communicants to 21,347. Yet this last figure is a decline of 441 from the 21,788 of 1942. This fact once more illustrates the strength of the population tide against which the Episcopal Church now has to row.

PARISHES OF THE BOSTON SUBURBS

	1857	1882	1897	1912	1927	1942	1957
1. Arlington, Our Saviour	—	—	—	—	186	290	218
2. Arlington, St. John's	—	53	51	225	293	601	947
3. Belmont, All Saints	—	—	36	239	510	492	954
4. Belmont, St. Andrews	—	—	—	—	116	203	161
5. Brookline, All Saints	—	—	200	435	496	649	411
6. Brookline, Our Saviour	—	156	345	398	460	938	306
7. Brookline, St. Paul's	80	289	350	375	668	677	534
8. Cambridge, Ascension*	—	104	137	326	289	—	—
9. Cambridge, Christ	141	220	460	425	520	1247	1176
10. Cambridge, St. Bartholomew's	—	—	20	457	490	610	605
11. Cambridge, St. James	—	140	320	600	522	525	538
12. Cambridge, St. John's*	—	190	250	275	255	—	—
13. Cambridge, St. Peter's	—	314	450	742	455	816	600
14. Cambridge, St. Philip's*	—	—	85	81	—	—	—
15. Chelsea, St. Luke's	62	194	309	300	373	386	310
16. Dedham, Good Shepherd	—	74	108	142	272	351	350
17. Dedham, St. Paul's	118	165	112	248	388	434	590
18. Everett	—	—	182	375	618	1130	733
19. Lexington, Our Redeemer	—	—	65	99	302	373	933
20. Malden, St. Luke's	—	89	80	180	208	258	146
21. Malden, St. Paul's	—	193	306	653	561	847	932
22. Medford, Grace	44	125	200	289	403	776	767
23. Melrose, Trinity	26	101	325	404	614	901	865
24. Milton, Our Saviour	—	—	—	116	214	362	158
25. Milton, St. Michael's	—	—	26	190	320	368	472
26. Needham, Christ	—	—	69	209	300	717	1073
27. Newton, Good Shepherd	—	—	—	127	225	414	417
28. Newton, Grace	50	225	290	403	478	625	478
29. Newton, Messiah	—	105	142	138	318	344	512
30. Newton, Redeemer	—	—	48	210	311	375	779
31. Newton, St. John's	—	—	—	305	451	566	586
32. Newton, St. Mary's	114	115	150	156	331	194	415
33. Newton, St. Paul's	19	—	150	260	338	508	290
34. Newton, Trinity	—	—	150	315	866	1372	910
35. Somerville, Christ	—	—	—	—	342	352	262
36. Somerville, Emmanuel	—	90	244	409	309	224	59
37. Somerville, St. James	—	—	50	216	494	269	213
38. Somerville, St. Thomas	—	190	130	389	476	390	208
39. Waltham, Ascension*	—	50	122	127	152	—	—
40. Waltham, Christ	68	167	262	380	509	742	743
41. Watertown, Good Shepherd	—	—	127	170	438	685	658
42. Winchester, Epiphany	—	—	225	400	562	417	1059
43. Winthrop, St. John's	—	—	95	396	453	482	484
44. Woburn, Trinity	—	84	90	183	314	418	329
Totals for all Parishes	724	3461	6761	12367	17200	21788	21347

* Parishes now extinct.

III.

In 1857, the five colonial parishes of the North Shore, plus little St. Stephen's, Lynn, now the largest parish of the Diocese, had but 581 communicants between them. The 29 parishes and missions of the area, a century later, reported 11,863, more there than the number now listed in the parishes of Boston. Of these 581, St. Peter's, Salem, had nearly one-half in 1857 (240). In 1957, its numbers were only a bit larger (271), St. Peter's now being outnumbered by newer Grace Church. While the Episcopal communicants of this area increased only 961 from 1942 to 1957, these two parishes suffered a loss of 522 in the same period (1056—534). In these same years, losses more or less heavy, occurred in Amesbury, and Newburyport, the three parishes in Lynn, St. Paul's, Revere, and in Swampscott. St. Ann's, Revere, was numerically static (284—286), as was Emmanuel, Wakefield. In these years a small new mission, Topsfield, Bonfield arose while the other sixteen adjacent did little to raise the total by less than 10%, 10,901 o 11,863, for a total gain of 961. Industrial change and population removal seems to have followed a crazy-quilt pattern.

PARISHES OF THE NORTH SHORE

	1857	1882	1897	1912	1927	1942	1957
1. Amesbury, St. James	40	111	110	143	156	320	201
2. Beverly, St. Peter's	—	63	152	239	366	400	615
3. Beverly, St. John's	—	—	—	53	154	275	408
*4. Cliftondale	—	—	—	—	49	—	—
5. Danvers, Calvary	—	92	90	176	101	323	482
6. Georgetown, All Saints	—	—	—	—	43	46	101
7. Gloucester, St. John's	—	60	150	250	261	340	578
8. Hamilton & Wendham, Christ	—	—	—	—	134	286	484
9. Ipswich, Ascension	—	72	175	203	300	400	664
10. Lynn, All Saints	—	—	—	—	—	313	163
11. Lynn, Incarnation	—	—	200	290	310	423	300
12. Lynn, St. Stephen's	58	400	480	950	2293	2339	2125
13. Lynnfield, St. Paul's	—	—	—	—	40	49	302
14. Marblehead, St. Andrew's	—	—	—	—	—	202	361
15. Marblehead, St. Michael's	53	102	160	125	389	504	597
16. Newburyport, St. Paul's	120	275	494	374	334	415	278
17. Peabody, St. Paul's	—	15	69	306	160	348	501
18. Reading, Good Shepherd	—	—	—	—	269	416	586
19. Revere, St. Ann's	—	—	—	386	342	284	286
20. Revere, St. Paul's	—	—	94	130	163	177	123
21. Rockport, St. Mary's	—	—	18	28	62	87	172
22. Salem, Grace	—	140	167	219	426	556	463
23. Salem, St. Peter's	240	290	419	378	440	500	271
24. Saugus, St. John's	—	—	34	70	205	436	619
25. S. Groveland, St. James	—	—	—	44	68	60	119
26. Stoneham, All Saints	—	—	—	69	59	81	143
27. Swampscott, Holy Name	—	—	70	219	271	865	409
28. Topsfield, Trinity	—	—	—	—	—	—	51
29. Wakefield, Emmanuel	71	60	96	—	174	352	351
30. W. Newbury, All Saints	—	—	—	202	128	92	110
Totals	581	1580	2968	4480	7697	10901	11863

IV.

The South Shore parishes represent the bright spot in this recent statistical picture of the Diocese. The net communicant gains of the area, from 1942 to 1957, were 3,872 (from 9,447 to 13,319), more than that of the whole Diocese in the same period. The heavy losses in the city of Boston were not quite made up by the small total increases in the four other regions— North Shore, Boston Suburbs, Southern Parishes, Western Parishes.

All this in a large territory which in 1897, sixty years before, had only 1,871 communicants in 23 parishes and missions, as against the 13,319 in 40 places of the present. There was a seven-fold gain in the six decades.

PARISHES OF THE SOUTH SHORE

	1857	1882	1897	1927	1942	1957
1. Branstable, St. Mary's	—	—	25	2	221	233
2. Braintree, Emmanuel	—	—	—	274	338	469
3. Bridgewater, Trinity	20	50	225	226	237	270
4.*Brockton, St. Andrew's	—	—	—	25	56	—
5. Brockton, St. Paul's	—	32	201	851	1038	1128
6. Buzzards Bay, St. Peter's	—	—	—	—	64	166
7. Canton, Trinity	—	—	94	161	75	311
8. Cohasset, St. Stephen's	—	—	14	240	343	451
9. Duxbury, St. John Evang.	—	—	75	36	97	227
10. Falmouth, St. Barnabas	13	35	40	165	197	426
11. Foxborough, St. Mark's	—	—	34	16	131	342
12. Hanover, St. Andrew's	102	67	89	204	478	324
13.†Hyannisport, St. Andrew's	—	—	—	50	75	—
14. Harwichport, Christ	—	—	—	—	—	107
15. Hingham, St. John Evang.	—	39	63	232	393	570
16. Holbrook, St. John's	—	—	—	58	130	243
17. Marion, St. Gabrielle's	—	—	23	59	52	266
18. Marshfield, Trinity	—	—	—	—	38	233
19. Martha's Vineyard Parish	—	—	36	114	265	321
20. Middleton, Our Saviour	—	—	140	121	134	271
21. North Easton, St. Mark's	—	—	—	38	53	153
22. Nantucket, St. Paul's	30	30	90	250	268	399
23. Norwood, Grace	—	—	—	173	206	420
24. Orleans, Holy Spirit	—	—	—	—	63	209
25. Plymouth, Christ	27	45	100	296	422	454
26. Provincetown, St. Mary's	—	—	—	71	146	160
27. Quincy, Christ	56	200	250	722	1051	1291
28. Randolph, Trinity	—	—	—	81	266	360
29. Rockland, Trinity	—	—	—	71	98	164
30. Sandwich, St. John's	16	—	23	83	86	103
31. Scituate, St. Luke's	—	—	—	—	—	127
32. Sharon, St. John's	—	—	—	78	130	218
33. Stoughton, Trinity	—	—	50	110	167	242
34. Walpole, Epiphany	—	—	31	50	138	384
35. Wareham, Good Shepherd	—	—	45	155	246	278
36. Wellfleet, St. James	—	—	—	—	—	50
37. Westwood, St. John's	—	—	—	—	—	306
38. Weymouth, Holy Nativity	—	—	—	90	189	490
39. Welmouth, Trinity	—	53	84	113	320	235
40. Whitman, All Saints	—	—	—	95	179	174
41. Woods Hole, Messiah	13	40	55	101	87	165
42. Wollaston, St. Chrysoston's	—	—	104	536	570	729
	277	411	742	5952	9447	13319

* Extinct

† Summer Chapel now.

V.

The southern tier of parishes, from Franklin no the West to Fairhaven on the East, show large growth between the first five periods, 1857 to 1927, with little increase between 1927 and 1942, and a silght recession between 1942 and 1957.

In 1857, colonial St. John's, Taunton, had 150 communicants, while the Church of the Ascension in rapidly growing Fall River had 295, and Grace Church in New Bedford 150. These, with 30 more in Swansea by the Shore, made up a total of 625. The 1957 total was 10,036, 98 down from the 10,134 of 1942.

The big increases have been until lately, in the individual cities of Taunton, Fall River and New Bedford. The Attleboros, close to Rhode Island, have continued their steady incrases over the years.

THE SOUTHERN TIER OF PARISHES

	1857	1882	1897	1912	1927	1942	1957
1. Attleboro, All Saints	—	—	47	351	420	492	602
2. Franklin, St. John's	—	—	—	129	244	139	205
3. Mansfield, St. John the Evangelist	—	—	—	125	163	314	177
4. Fall River, Ascension	295	227	598	635	745	810	743
5. Fall River, St. James	—	—	397	535	417	382	268
6. Fall River, St. John's	—	125	250	357	611	512	361
7. Fall River, St. Luke's	—	—	—	300	368	365	365
8. Fall River, St. Mark's	—	—	279	377	702	659	619
9. Fall River, St. Stephen's	—	—	110	269	343	350	282
10. Fairhaven, Good Shepherd	—	—	—	225	246	194	279
11. Medfield, Advent	—	—	—	57	78	90	192
12. Medway, Christ	—	14	33	75	95	88	153
13. Millis, St. Paul's	—	—	—	23	41	35	105
14. New Bedfrd, Grace	150	180	483	787	1041	1243	1536
15. New Bedford, St. Andrews	—	—	—	175	458	621	412
16. New Bedford, St. James	—	125	325	695	493	444	545
17. New Bedford, St. Martin's	—	—	183	837	1184	1271	999
18. N. Attleboro, Grace	—	—	171	240	290	487	672
19. N. Dighton, St. Paul's	—	—	—	—	90	83	32
20. Seekonk, Holy Nativity	—	—	—	—	71	112	78
21. Somerset, Our Saviour	—	—	—	19	—	70	123
22. S. Dartmouth, St. Aidans	—	—	—	—	—	—	73
23. Swansea, Christ	30	14	42	132	136	281	407
24. Taunton, St. John's	—	121	164	307	361	258	185
25. Taunton, St. Thomas	150	315	363	501	638	702	483
26. Wrentham, Trinity	—	35	30	56	110	132	170
Totals	625	1156	3441	7207	9345	10134	10036

VI.

The twenty-five parishes and missions in the western section of the Diocese, including now therein the new mission of Burlington, had, in 1957, 11,744 communicants. As in all sections of the Diocese, this number was a tremendous increase from the figures of 1857, but only a moderate one from those of 1942. Even in this relatively favored area, the Episcopal Church growth is not one-half of the population growth of the State, 30% from 1950 to 1960. The committee communities of this region all show good Episcopal gains, as do the smaller industrial cities and towns. Considerable recent losses appear in the larger cities, such as Haverhill, Lawrence and Lowell.

THE WESTERN PARISHES

	1857	1882	1897	1912	1927	1942	1957
1. Andover, Christ	100	106	240	360	407	582	595
2. Ayer, Groton	—	—	107	196	362	359	537
3. Chelmsford, All Saints	—	40	56	57	83	135	196
4. Concord, Trinity	—	30	82	162	277	402	640
5. Franmingham, St. Andrew's & St. John's	—	73	102	173	287	360	558
6. Haverhill, Trinity & St. John's	38	283	419	695	662	475	386
7. Hopkinton, St. Paul's	25	30	32	58	64	73	132
8. Hudson, St. Luke's	—	—	—	—	190	383	386
9. Lawrence, Grace	118	390	510	1134	1409	1424	1231
10. Lawrence, St. Augustine's & St. John's	—	200	250	760	772	747	242
11. Lowell, St. Anne's	406	569	1068	980	1112	1062	947
12. Lowell, St. John's	—	281	335	425	405	525	456
13. Marlborough, Holy Trinity	—	—	157	200	255	300	362
14. Maynard, St. George's	—	—	39	197	204	183	301
15. Methuen, All Saints & St. Andrew's	—	205	83	212	204	287	341
16. Natick, St. Paul's	—	60	71	180	228	392	607
17. N. Andover, St. Paul's	—	47	97	311	371	392	314
18. N. Billerica, St. Anne's	—	—	—	79	140	171	183
19. Shirley, Trinity	—	—	—	—	37	58	57
20. Southborough, St. Mark's	—	43	198	185	400	246	174
21. Sudbury, St. Elizabeth's	—	—	—	—	—	—	162
22. Wellesley, St. Andrew's	—	—	100	166	471	903	1260
23. Weston, St. Peter's	—	—	—	—	96	180	598
24. Lincoln, St. Anne's	—	33	48	44	105	129	389
Totals	777	2230	3974	6576	8541	9766	11744

BOOK TWO

CHAPTER XI.

The Diocese of Western Massachusetts
1902 - 1937

The Episcopates of Alexander Hamilton Vinton
1902 - 1911
of
Thomas Frederick Davies
1911 - 1936
of
William Appleton Lawrence
1937 - 1957

I.

In 1901, as we have seen, the western part of the Massachusetts Diocese, some 4500 square miles, was separated from the Eastern section containing some 3600 square miles. The new Diocese, named Western Massachusetts, was a collection of 48 parishes and missions with no common tie except the one that united them with Boston. There were 54 clergymen, active and inactive, in the area, with 8258 listed communicants. Its population, according to the census figures of 1950, was about a quarter of that of the whole State. In 1902, the proportion was a little less than a quarter.

Late in 1901, the campaign to raise $100,000 for the Episcopal Fund of the new Diocese was successfully ended. This sum was to be a unique parting gift from the mother diocese to the daughter. So, promptly on November 19, 1901, to organize the Diocese, a special Convention was held at Christ Church, Springfield. Bishop William Lawrence presided, delivering a farewell message of moving eloquence to the new diocese, and steering the Convention smoothly through the complex details of diocesan organization. This completed, the Convention unanimously chose Dr. David H. Greer of St. Bartholomew's, New York City, as Bishop. Dr. Greer felt obliged to decline, for the same reason he had refused the coadjutorship of Rhode Island three years earlier — he had not yet finished his work at St. Bartholomew's. Some years later, he became Bishop of New York, wearing a non-sacredotal collar to the end of his days.

Bishop Lawrence's address on that occasion we may now quote in part: "We take part today in the organization of a Body whose life is to be measured not by years and generations, but by centuries and milleniums. As we recall the titles of ancient Sees — Canterbury, Winchester, Durham — which are today in greater spiritual vigor than they were centuries ago, we catch a prophetic glimpse of this Diocese. Its title may never become so renowned as these, nor its history so picturesque, but its term of life may be as long and its temper as fine in God's sight.

"The hills of Worcester still echo with the hymns of the Puritans and early settlers who braved starvation that they might find homes for their children; and the voice of John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians, still seems to linger in the woods. From the upper valley of the Connecticut comes the cry of the people whose homes have been destroyed by the Indians, and whose children have been carried away captive. The voice of Jonathan Edwards is heard, calling the people of Northampton to repentance. Here in Springfield the Puritan Chapin led the people; and the Churchman Pynchon, whose books were publicly burned in Boston, did his work.

"And of Berkshire, glorious in mountain and vale, who can recount the story? The birthplace at Williamstown of the great missionary movement; home of poets, scholars and divines; the 'Lake District' of New England. . . .

"The future work of this Diocese may seem to be local, limited to the bounds of the Housatonic and the Blackstone. Massachusetts, however, has become a colonizing State. Her children pass out through the middle West and into all parts of the world. Back to her colleges come the youth for their education and for a breath of her spiritual and intellectual atmosphere. Thus the work of the diocese will be far more than local. Its influence will be felt in every part of this nation; and on the banks of the Yangtse River, and on the shores of the Philippines the visions caught here will be realized. . . .

"The purpose of this Diocese is to preach the Gospel as this Church hath received the same, to bring souls to the Saviour and to build men up into the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ. No desire to upbuild the Church, no spirit of ecclesiasticism, no sectarian loyalty is to overshadow the simple, single mission of preaching the free and simple Gospel of Jesus Christ.

"The principles of the Diocese are the principles of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. In full sympathy with the essential principles of Protestantism, she upholds the Bible as the revealed Word of God; in every service of the Church the Holy Scriptures are read, and she allows her ministers to teach nothing as necessary to eternal salvation but that which each one shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the Scriptures; and while she esteems as of high authority the experience of history and the precedents of the Church, she insists in the last resort upon the right of private judgement and the liberty, aye the duty, of every man to think and act for himself.

"In the simplicity of her Catholic creeds, which are her tests of faith, she protests with all the power of Protestantism against any other tests of faith or loyalty to the Catholic Church than those contained in the Catholic creeds. She holds as a part of her very life the two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself — Baptism and the Supper of the Lord — and she places them above every ordinance of Church or man. . . .

"Her attitude to other Christian bodies is therefore this:- While she holds to her ministry, as of ancient and apostolic order, as well as her Sacraments, Creeds, and Bible, she recognizes with all gladness the wonderful spiritual work that has been done and is still being done by churches which by their preaching, sacraments, faith and works are evidently the churches of God and of their common Master Christ. . . . On the other side, our Church gladly recognizes the ancient order, the spiritual fervour and the noble works for which the Roman Catholic Church in this country is becoming illustrious. We rejoice in the spiritualizing and purifying power which that church in this country is sending back to Rome. But being an American church, we refuse to recognize as our ruler any sovereign of Rome, or any other foreign land. Our first, last, and supreme allegiance is through Jesus Christ to the Church in these

United States and to the spiritual and national liberties for which our fathers fought. . . . We believe that we have a unique mission and an appeal for unity to the people of Massachusetts and of this whole land. . . .

"The Diocese is here that it may serve the highest interests of the people in Christ's name. Its spirit will be that of a true missionary in city, village and hamlet; up in the hill towns, at the four roads and in the crowded tenement, the Bishop and priests will minister and preach. Through their message in college, school and home the young men and young women will see visions of hope and service. Century will follow century, and still the people of this Diocese will sing; 'How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace'."

With this charter of liberty and vision, Bishop Lawrence bade Godspeed to the western part of his diocese. The spirit of this charter has prevailed in the Diocese to this day. Neither left-wing Liberalism nor right-wing Catholicism has had much influence in it, less certainly than in the Diocese centering around Boston.

On January 22, 1902, a second special Convention met at Christ Church, Springfield, with 38 out of 54 diocesan clergy present. Only two of the thirty-five parishes were not represented. When balloting for Bishop began, there were presented the names of the Rev. Alexander H. Vinton, D.D. of Worcester, the Rev. Edwin S. Lines, D.D. of New Haven, and the Rev. William S. Rainsford, D.D. of New York. In just one ballot, Dr. Vinton was elected, receiving 19 clerical and 18 lay votes, parishes then voting as a unit.

Consecration followed just three months later, on April 22, in All Saints, Worcester. Bishop Thomas F. Davies of Michigan, whose son was to succeed Dr. Vinton nine years later, was Consecrator. Co-consecrators were Bishops Frederick D. Hutington of Central New York and Chauncey B. Brewster of Connecticut. The presenters were Bishops Lawrence and Frederick Burgess of Long Island. Bishop Henry C. Potter of New York preached the sermon.

Alexander Hamilton Vinton was the son of General David H. Vinton and the nephew of the Rev. Francis H. Vinton and of the noted Evangelical, Rev. Alexander H. Vinton, who served so long in Massachusetts, as well as elsewhere. Born in the ancsetral home near Pomfret, Connecticut, he was educated at St. Stephen's College, Annandale, New York, and the General Theological Seminary in New York City. After a brief two years in New Jersey, young Vinton was called to the rectorship of the Church of the Holy Comforter in Philadelphia, where he stayed six years. In 1884, he went to All Saints, Worccster. Afer eighteen years, he became Diocesan, meeting his first Convention as Bishop the next day in Christ Church, Springfield, which was chosen as the See city. Forty-eight parishes and missions, mostly small places, with a total of 8,258 communicants, marked the start of the episcopate. Fifty-six parishes

and missions, having 12,760 confirmed persons, with 8,577 making a recorded communion during the year, were listed at the time of the Bishop's death in 1911. Total diocesan contributions in that year were over $227,000. In 1902, the 48 parishes and missions had contributed to all objects the sum of $174,478.74.

In the short nine years of the Vinton episcopate, eight new missions were organized, more than in any subsequent period of like duration. These eight new missions were: St. Andrew's, Ludlow (1904), Christ Church, North Brookfield, and Holy Trinity, Southbridge (1906), St. Mary's, Palmer, and St. Andrew's, Blackinton (1907), Christ Church, South Barre, and Trinity, Whitinsville (1908), and All Saints, Springfield (1911). The last two, with Southbridge, have become parishes. South Barre and North Brookfield have remained more or less static for half a century. Ludlow and Blackinton, owing to population changes, have declined considerably. The net result, statistically, in the nine years of Bishop Vinton, was to increase the nominal communicants of the Diocese some 50%. Financially, and in the arousing of a diocesan consciousness and of missionary zeal, progress, however, was slower. It was five years before sufficient money was raised to buy the former Bishop's House at 1154 Worthington Street, in Springfield. The one great financial alleviation was part of a considerably legacy left by Miss Sophia Walker of Waltham, a legacy made out originally to the undivided diocese. The income of this found varied uses. The Diocese, as a whole, however, remained a group of parochially-minded parishes. The Episcopal Fund grew but slowly. Diocesan assessments had to be heavy.

Bishop Vinton, at his first Convention, made a noble pledge to the Diocese, one nobly kept: "I pledge to you and to the Diocese the devotion of my life wholly to the interests and work required of one who is appointed an overseer in a set portion of the Master's Vineyard, to bring forth fruit meet to be offered unto Him, and abundantly according to the nature of the soil. Such as I have, give I unto you."

Bishop Vinton, born in Connecticut, acquired a strong infusion of what is called Connecticut Churchmanship. He was humbly proud of his high office and demanded respect for it. It meant something to be an overseer in the house of God. Yet, welling up through his strong Church consciousness was a deep and warm Evangelical spirit, such as characterized his eminent uncle, after whom he was named. And, again, though he received his theological training before modern Science and modern Biblical learning had made their impact on the Church, he was a great admirer of both Bishop Clark and Phillips Brooks. The river of his life was thus fed from three spiritual springs, the Church emphasis of Connecticut, the bubbling well of Evangelical fervor and the rising rivulet of Broad Churchmanship. Such a combination of characteristics, in a semi-virgin field of Church endeavor, would seem, partly at least, to account for

the striking growth of the Church in his brief nine years of episcopate. To this we must add the Bishop's warm love for his clergy and people, which even his austere Yankee reserve could not hide.

On January 6, 1911, Bishop Vinton was a co-consecrator at the consecration of James DeWolf Perry, a friend and former rector of Christ Church, Fitchburg, to the episcopate of Rhode Island. A few days later he was taken ill. In a few more days, on January 18, he passed to his reward. He had been consecrated shortly after his fiftieth birthday and died of pneumonia shortly before his fifty-ninth. Would modern medicine have prolonged his days? Very probably. Bishop Vinton was a bachelor, and wifely care, also, might have staved off or pulled him through the then dread disease.

Bishop Vinton showed his Churchmanship in the instructions which he left for his burial. The funeral service was to include the full Holy Communion, now often called a Requiem. He showed his personal humility in asking that his gravestone be simple and include only his name, the necessary dates and the brief inscription, "Jesu Mercy."

II.

THE EPISCOPATE OF THOMAS FREDERICK DAVIES, JR.

1911 - 1936

Bishop Vinton's death made a new Episcopal election necessary. This, however, was held at the regular meeting of the Convention on May 10. Although four or five men were voted for, only two of them really counted in the balloting. The Rev. Thomas F. Davies, Jr., the relatively young rector of All Saints, Worcester, received a large clerical majority from the start (24 out of 34), holding it to the end. The other important candidate was Bishop Frederick Foote Johnson, missionary Bishop of South Dakota, and former diocesan missionary in Western Massachusetts, who had fourteen lay unit votes throughout three ballots, but never more than six or eight among the clergy. On the third ballot, enough scattering lay votes came in to give Mr. Davies a bare lay majority. Once again, the Diocese had selected, as its chief, the rector of its largest parish.

The consecration took place in All Saints, Worcester, on October 18, 1911. the consecrator was the Presiding Bishop, Daniel Sylvester Tuttle of Missouri, the "Grand old Man of the Church," and the co-consecrators were Bishops Lawrence of Massachusetts and Brewster of Connecticut. The Rt. Rev. Frederick Burgess of Long Island was the preacher. These last three had all participated in the previous consecration.

The twenty-five years of the episcopate of Bishop Thomas Frederick Davies, Jr. mark another milestone in the history of the Diocese. He was thirty-nine when consecrated and just sixty-four when he died. His episcopate spanned both World War I and the Great Depression.

Bishop Davies was born on July 20, 1872, in Philadelphia, the son of the future Bishop Thomas F. Davies of Michigan. One of his favorite stories was about a reception in London which he attended as chaplain to his father at a Lambeth Conference. The butler introduced them to the drawing room as "My lord of Mychicken and the Rev. Mr. Dives."

Yale College and the General Theological Seminary, as well as a New York curacy, brought the younger Davies to his first parish, Christ Church, Norwich, Connecticut. When only thirty-one he was called to succeed Bishop Vinton at All Saints, Worcester. In eight years he had made such an impression on parish and diocese that, after three ballots, he was duly elected by a concurrent majority of clergy and laity.

In these twenty-five years, Bishop Davies managed to double the Episcopal Fund, and by a "Bishop's Church Extension Fund" to erect sundry needed Church buildings. Southbridge, Palmer, West Springfield, Whitinsville and Turner's Falls all received adequate places of worship through the medium and stimulation of the Fund. In 1921, the bishop promised the present writer that he would give $2,000 toward a small parish house at St. John's, Millville, if the mission could raise another $1,000. This was promptly done, and the building even more promptly erected by one of the Wardens, Howard F. King. This was only one of the extensive benefits of the Bishop's Fund.

In 1918, Bishop Davies took a three month's trip to Europe preaching everywhere to the American troops in camps and barracks. A diocesan clerical casualty in the War was the Rev. Walton S. Danker, the beloved rector of St. John's, Worcester. He was a captain and the chaplain of the 104th infantry, and died of shell wounds on June 18, 1918. The Bishop described him thus: "Faithful priest, tender pastor, brave soldier, loyal friend."

In 1920, the Rev. Marshall E. Mott, who had served his whole ministry in the Diocese, at Leominster, Webster, and North Adams, was made Archdeacon in particular charge of the missionary work. He thus relieved the Bishop of a considerable burden. For diocesan work was getting more complex every year. In 1929, Christ Church, Springfield, became the Diocesan Cathedral, thus emphasizing a considerable advance in diocesan consciousness.

Other events of diocesan importance may be mentioned. In 1927, Lenox School, a Church School, with moderate tuition, was established by the gift of a mansion and grounds in Lenox. Though Lenox School is a school for the whole Province of New England, it

has close diocesan connections. The Bishop of the Diocese usually is President of the Board of Trustees, and diocesan funds now help greatly with scholarships.

In 1927, Mr. George F. Crane of New York transferred St. Andrew's Chapel at Washington in the Berkshires and its adjacent manor house to the Diocese, with an endowment of $15,000. The manor house was used for ten years as a Holiday House for the Girls Friendly Society. Still later "Bucksteep Manor" became the first of three Conference Centers for the Diocese, and is doing increasingly important work.

In the last four years of his life, Bishop Davies' health steadily deteriorated. He was married at fifty-eight to Mrs. Annie Patton, a member of a well-known Lancaster family. The immediate result of the marriage was to goad the Diocese into buying a more adequate Bishop's House, the one at 83 Ridgewood Terrace, Springfield.

At the 1936 Convention, Bishop Davies asked the Diocese to call a special session on September 30 to elect a coadjutor. The Convention approved and appointed a Committee to bring in nominations. But, in a few weeks, on August 25, 1936, the Bishop had passed away. The Dean of the Cathedral, the Very Rev. Percy T. Edrop, and Archdeacon Mott conducted the burial service in the Cathedral on August 28. The interment was in Lenox, where the Bishop had a summer home.

Bishop Davies, like his predecessor, participated very little in the activities of the General Church. In diocesan affairs he was a stimulating influence. The endowment fund of the Diocese was, in his twenty-five years, doubled. Twelve missions were founded, ten new mission churches were built and twelve churches consecrated. The considerable communicant increase was largely in the first ten years. To further the work of Bishop and Archdeacon, an arrange ment was made with the Cathedral parish, whereby a former rectory, next to the church, was converted into offices, upstairs for the Diocese and downstairs for the parish.

Bishop Davies was a genial and capable diocesan leader. His clergy always found him kindly and considerate. He was, while his health lasted, an inspiring preacher of carefully prepared sermons, written in beautiful English and beautifully rendered. Several of his brief writings have been published. Among them are: "Priestly Potentialities," "Personal Progress in Religion," "The Charm of Trees," and "After Confirmation, What?"

At this point, we might mention three clergymen of the Diocese in special charge of the missionary work. The first, already mentioned, was Bishop Johnson of South Dakota, later of Missouri, who was called away from the Diocese in 1904. The second was the Rev. Charles J. Sniffen, who succeeded him as diocesan missionary and later as Archdeacon. Mr. Sniffen was greatly beloved in the Diocese

and in its missions. In 1920, Archdeacon Mott began his seventeen-year career as the Bishop's right hand. After the next election, he retired at a ripe age, having served the Diocese for forty-three years. He was sent as delegate to no less than six General Conventions.

Bishops Davies' sudden death made it necessary to send out a legal call to elect a Diocesan instead of a Coadjutor. So the Standing Committee postponed the election to October 21. A full complement of clergy, 51 out of 53, and 115 lay delegates, now voting individually, attended the special Convention.

Four men from outside the Diocese and four rectors of the larger parishes were duly nominated. Their total vote represented a little more than one-half of those cast in both Orders. The favored name was that of the Reverend Doctor William Appleton Lawrence, son of Bishop William Lawrence and rector of Grace Church, Providence, Rhode Island. He had a decisive majority on the second ballot in both the clerical and the lay Order.

At the Consecration on January 13, 1937, at the Cathedral, Bishop Lawrence, retired of Massachusetts, who had assisted in the two previous consecrations, was this time both Consecrator and Preacher. Even at eighty-seven, he appeared quite vigorous. It was a unique occasion for a Bishop, who had baptized, confirmed and ordained his son, to consecrate him to the episcopate of what had once been a part of his own Diocese. The Co-Consecrators were the Rt. Rev. James De Wolf Perry, Dr. Lawrence's Diocesan in Rhode Island, and Presiding Bishop, and Bishop Henry K. Sherrill of Massachusetts, later to be Presiding Bishop. Bishop John T. Dallas of New Hampshire, read the Epistle, and Bishop Benjamin Brewster of Maine the Gospel. Litanist was Bishop Philip Cook of Delaware. The Presenting Bishops were Samuel G. Babcock, Suffragan of Massachusetts, and Arthur W. Moulton, missionary Bishop of Utah, under whom Dr. Lawrence had served once as curate at Grace Church, Lawrence, Massachusetts. The attending Presbyters were Robert R. Carmichael, assistant at the new Bishop's parish in Providence, and his own brother Frederic C. Lawrence, now Suffragan in Massachusetts.

III.

William Appleton Lawrence was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on May 21, 1889. He was thus only four when his father moved from the deanship of the Cambridge Seminary to the See of Massachusetts. He was only thirteen when his future diocese was separated from the eastern part of the State. He graduated from Harvard in 1911, just as Bishop Davies was beginning his twenty-five year episcopate, and from E. T. S. in 1914, in the same class as

two other future bishops, Henry Knox Sherrill and William Payne Roberts, retired Bishop of Shanghai. At the end of his first year in Seminary he married Miss Hannah Cobb. The Lawrences have had seven children, of whom Charles Kane Cobb Lawrence is a clergyman, while a daughter married in 1957 one of the Bishop's clergy, the Rev. Dale Lee Van Meter of Westboro.

Appleton Lawrence's first church office was a curacy at his father's old parish, Grace Church, Lawrence. After a couple of years he went in 1916 to the rectorship of the huge parish of St. Stephen's, Lynn, where he had a dynamic ministry, using numerous church organizations. After ten years, he was called to Grace Church, Providence. There he went in for a more pastoral ministry. At the end of his first year he had almost completed the round of the enormous parish, whose members are scattered over a dozen towns and cities. Administratively, he was successful in putting the financial burden of the parish upon the many, instead of the few, as had been the case for the previous century.

Bishop Lawrence commenced his episcopate on January 13, 1937. He found a diocese that was still not much more than semi-organized. He left it on Thanksgiving Day 1957 fully organized and vigorous in all departments of diocesan effort. Administrative skill and spiritual vitality, in their effects, flowed down from Bishop's House to the parishes.

The following statistical table gives a birdseye view of diocesan growth in those nigh twenty-one years.

Statistics of the Diocese of Western Massachusetts
1927 - 1957

	1927	1937	1947	1957
Clergy	62	62	76	98
Parishes & Missions	90	84	64	68
Baptized Persons	29,657	28,173	30,339	36,255
Communicants	16,291	17,553	18,381	20,700
Baptisms	759	624	1,146	1,098
Confirmations	789	871	795	1,010
Contributions	$674,428	$574,117	$839,337	$1,703,499
Ordinations:				
Deacons	2	0	2	11
Priests	2	2	3	10
Church School Youngsters	5667	5106	4986	8882

Two highly significant facts emerge from the above table. The clergy list increased, from 1937 to 1957, from 62 to 98, far outrunning the increase in the Church as a whole. A major reason here was the extended and intensive work of the Diocese for Youth and in the half dozen collegiate institutions of the area. Recruits for the Ministry abounded.

A second fact is the enormous growth in contributions, some three fold, from the $574,177 of 1937 to the $1,703,499 of 1957. It is the financial increase that has made the Youth and College Work possible. A legacy of $2,000,000 from the estate of Miss Bement, a part-time resident of Stockbridge, has also been devoted in considerable measure to this kind of work, although not a little has gone into building developments here or there. As an instance, the Bement Fund bought back from the Lutherans the former Church of St. Peter's parish, Springfield, housing therein an integrated congregation, largely colored, known as St. Simon the Cyrenian. The Fund enabled the Diocese to withdraw the Rev. E. J. H. Nichols from his parish in East Springfield for exclusive attention to Youth work at Washington in the Berkshires and at Camp Bement in Charlton. A further use is aiding to finance the Adult Conferences at Lasell House in Whitinsville, where Miss Estelle Carver carries on her well-known Study and Devotional Groups for Adults. The Fund also helps to finance the College Work at Amherst College and the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, at South Hadley, where Mount Holyoke College is located, and at Northampton, the seat of Smith College.

Increase in the number of clergy, candidates, Church School Youngsters and in contributions are the outstanding feature of diocesan statistics in the Lawrence episcopate. Increase in baptized persons from 1937 to 1957 was a little over 20%, and the increase in communicants a little under 20%. This corresponds roughly to the growth in the much larger diocese centering around Boston. As in the Eastern Diocese, Episcopal growth has fallen behind population increase.

At the Diocesan Convention in May, 1957, Bishop Lawrence, then turning sixty-eight, announced his resignation of the Diocese as of the coming Thanksgiving Day. He felt that, inasmuch as the Diocese was now well organized, a younger man, with his own policy, should immediately take office as diocesan, rather than as coadjutor. Accordingly, an election was held in the early autumn. The Rt. Rev. Robert McConnell Hatch, suffragan bishop in Connecticut for six years, was soon chosen by a decisive majority, and took his new office at the beginning of 1958, under the fairest of auspices.

Bishop Hatch, born in Brooklyn, is the son of the Rev. W. H. P. Hatch, for many years New Testament professor at E. T. S. He graduated from Harvard in 1933 and from Cambridge in 1939. He served for two years as curate at Trinity Church, Boston, for four more as rector of St. John's Church, Arlington, Mass. After three years as Dean of the Cathedral in Wilmington, Delaware and three more as rector of St. John's Church, Waterbury, Connecticut, he was elected, at forty, as suffragan in that Diocese. He married, in

1940, Miss Crocker Addison, a daughter of James Thayer Addison, long a professor at Cambridge, who had married into the well-known Crocker family of Fitchburg.

After his retirement, Bishop Lawrence moved to his native Cambridge, and in Lawrence Hall, the dormitory which his good father had built for E. T. S., he has an office to further proper placement of the clergy. The Bishop has been convinced from his own observation and experience that many a young man is advanced too fast in the church and that many a man is left in some corner, never has the opportunity to reach his church potential. So, with the help of a good-bye gift of $10,000 from the Diocese, he is laboring, with some evident success to improve the somewhat chaotic condition of clergy placement in the Episcopal Church. He has also been a strong background influence in the financial and other policies of the Cambridge Seminary. The new Dean there, the Rev. John B. Coburn, was once one of Bishop Lawrence's clergy (at Amherst), as was Bishop Donald J. Campbell (Springfield Cathedral), once suffragan bishop in Los Angeles and now director of the expansion program of the Cambridge Seminary, which is reaching massive proportions.*

When the full statistics of 1960, both of the census and of the Diocese are in, it will probably be the case that Episcopal growth has not here, as in the Boston diocese, kept pace with population increase. The reasons are much the same as those put forth in Chapter XI for the other Diocese.

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* Washburn Hall, given by the Lay Trustees in honor of Dean Emeritus, Henry B. Washburn of E. T. S. was erected in 1960. It is the largest of the many buildings the Seminary now owns.

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